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# **AUTOBIOGRAPHY.**

**A Collection**

**OF THE**

**MOST INSTRUCTIVE AND AMUSING**

**LIVES**

**EVER PUBLISHED,**

**WRITTEN BY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES.**

**WITH BRIEF INTRODUCTIONS, AND COMPENDIOUS SEQUELS,  
CARRYING ON THE COURSE OF EVENTS TO THE  
DEATH OF EACH WRITER.**

**VOL. VIII.**

**LORD HERBERT AND PRINCE EUGENE.**

**LONDON :**  
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**MDCCLXXX.**



## EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE original preface and dedication to this work by Horace Walpole, which follow, render all observation upon the peculiar character and attraction of the autobiography of the celebrated lord Herbert of Cherbury entirely superfluous. Now for several years recognised as one of the most interesting specimens of self-portraiture in the English language, it is only necessary to observe here, that it is reprinted for the present collection, with a due attention to all the collateral or additional information which is necessary to render the present edition equal to the best of those which have preceded it



TO THE MOST NOBLE

**HENRY ARTHUR HERBERT,**

EARL OF POWIS,

VISCOUNT LUDLOW, LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY,

BARON POWIS AND LUDLOW, AND TREASURER

OF HIS MAJESTY'S HOUSEHOLD.

My lord,

PERMIT me to offer to your lordship in this more durable manner the very valuable present I received from your hands. To your lordship your great ancestor owes his revival; and suffer me, my lord, to tell the world what does you so much honour, you have given him and me leave to speak truth; an indulgence which I am sorry to say few descendants of heroes have minds noble enough to allow.

Hitherto lord Herbert has been little known but as an author. I much mistake, if hereafter he is not considered as one of the most extraordinary characters which this country has produced. Men of the proudest blood shall not blush to distinguish themselves in letters as well as arms, when they learn what excellence lord Herbert attained in both. Your lordship's lineage, at least will have a pattern before their eyes to

excite their emulation : and while they admire the piety with which you have done justice to your common ancestor, they cannot be forgetful of the obligation they will have to your lordship's memory for transmitting to them this record of his glory.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obedient,

and most obliged servant,

**HORACE WALPOLE.**

## ADVERTISEMENT.

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SOME years ago the following pages wou'd have been reckoned one of the greatest presents which the learned world could have received. The Life of the famous Lord Herbert of Chirbury, written by himself, would have excited the curiosity of the whole republic of letters. Perhaps a less proportion of expectation may attend this its late appearance. Not that the abilities of the noble writer have fallen into disesteem. His reign of Henry the eighth is allowed to be a masterpiece of historic biography. But they were his speculative works, which, raising a multitude of admirers or censors from their acuteness and singularity, made lord Herbert's a name of the first importance. The many great men, who illustrated the succeeding period, have taken off some of the public attention ; for it is only a genius of the first force, whose fame dilates with ages, and can buoy itself up above the indifference which steals upon mankind, as an author becomes less and less the subject of conversation. Speculative writers, however penetrating, however sublime their talents, seldom attain the seal of universal approbation, because, of all the various abilities which Providence has bestowed on man, reasoning is not the power which has been brought to standard perfection. Poetry and eloquence have been so far perfected, that the great masters in those branches still remain unequalled. But where is that book of human argumentation, where that system of human opinions, which has not been partly confuted or exploded ? Novelty itself in matters of metaphysical inquiry often proves, in effect, a confutation of antece-



dent novelties. Opponents raise the celebrity of the doctrines they attack : newer doctrines stifle that celebrity. This is a truth, which the bigots of lord Herbert's age wou'd not have liked to hear ; but what has happened to many other great men, has been his fate too : they who meant to wound his fame, extended it : when the cry of enthusiasts was drawn off to fresher game, his renown grew fainter. His moral character recovered its lustre, but has fewer spectators to gaze at it.

This introduction to his life may not be improper, though at first it may mislead the reader, who will hence perhaps expect from his own pen some account of a person's creed, whom a few sottish zealots once represented as having none at all. His lordship's thorough belief and awful veneration of the Deity will clearly appear in these pages ; but neither the unbeliever nor the monk will have farther satisfaction. This life of a philosopher is neither a deduction of his opinions nor a table of philosophy—I will anticipate the reader's surprise, though it shall be but in a word : to his astonishment he will find, that the history of Don Quixote was the life of Plato.

The noble family, which gives these sheets to the world, is above the little prejudices which make many a race defraud the public of what was designed for it by those, who alone had a right to give or withhold. It is above suppressing what lord Herbert dared to tell. Foibles, passions, perhaps some vanity, surely some wrongheadedness : these he scorned to conceal, for he sought truth, wrote on truth, was truth. He honestly told when he had missed or mistaken it. His descendants not blind to his faults, but through them conducting the reader to his virtues, desire the world to make this candid observation with them, " That there must have been a wonderfull fund of internal virtue, of strong resolution and manly philosophy, which in an age of such mistaken and barbarous gallantry, of such absurd usages and false glory, could enable lord Herbert to seek fame better founded, and could make him reflect that there might be a more desirable kind of glory than

that of a romantic duellist." None shut their eyes so obstinately against seeing what is ridiculous, as they who have attained a mastery in it: but that was not the case of lord Herbert. His valour made him a hero, be the heroism in vogue what it wou'd; his sound parts made him a philosopher. Few men in truth have figured so conspicuously in lights so various; and his descendants, though they cannot approve him in every walk of glory, wou'd perhaps injure his memory, if they suffered the world to be ignorant, that he was formed to shine in every sphere, into which his impetuous temperament, or predominant reason conducted him.

As a soldier, he won the esteem of those great captains the prince of Orange and the constable de Montmorency; as a knight, his chivalry was drawn from the purest founts of the Fairy Queen. Had he been ambitious, the beauty of his person wou'd have carried him as far as any gentle knight can aspire to go. As a public minister, he supported the dignity of his country, even when its prince disgraced it; and that he was qualified to write its annals as well as to ennoble them, the history I have mentioned proves, and must make us lament that he did not complete, or that we have lost, the account he purposed to give of his embassy. These busy scenes were blended with, and terminated by meditation and philosophic inquiries. Strip each period of its excesses and errors, and it will not be easy to trace out, or dispose the life of a man of quality into a succession of employments which would better become him. Valour and military activity in youth; business of state in the middle age; contemplation and labours for the information of posterity in the calmer scenes of closing life. This was lord Herbert: the deduction he will give himself.

The MS was in great danger of being lost to the world. Henry lord Herbert, grandson of the author, died in 1691 without issue, and by his will left his estate to Francis Herbert, of Oakly-park, (father of the present earl of Powis,) his sister's son. At Lymore, in

Montgomeryshire, (the chief seat of the family after Cromwell had demolished Montgomery castle,) was preserved the original manuscript. Upon the marriage of Henry lord Herbert with a daughter of Francis earl of Bradford, Lymore, with a considerable part of the estate thereabouts, was allotted for her jointure. After his decease, lady Herbert usually resided there; she died in 1714. The MS cou'd not then be found: yet while she lived there, it was known to have been in her hands. Some years afterwards it was discovered at Lymore among some old papers, in very bad condition; several leaves being torn out and others stained to such a degree as to make it scarcely legible. Under these circumstances, inquiry was made of the Herberts of Ribbisford, (descended from sir Henry Herbert, a younger brother of the author lord,) in relation to a duplicate of the memoirs, which was confidently said to be in their custody. It was allowed that such a duplicate had existed; but no one could recollect what was become of it. At last, about the year 1737, this book was sent to the earl of Powis by a gentleman, whose father had purchased an estate of Henry Herbert of Ribbisford, (son of sir Henry Herbert above-mentioned,) in whom was revived in 1694 the title of Clirbury, which had extinguished in 1691. By him (after the sale of the estate) some few books, pictures, and other things, were left in the house and remained there to 1737. This manuscript was amongst them; which not only by the contents (as far as it was possible to collate it with the original) but by the similitude of the writing, appeared to be the duplicate so much sought after.

Being written when lord Herbert was past sixty, the work was probably never completed. The spelling is in general given as in the MS, but some obvious mistakes it was necessary to correct, and a few notes have been added, to point out the most remarkable persons mentioned in the text. The style is remarkably good for that age, which coming between the nervous and expressive manliness of the preceding century, and the purity of

the present standard, partook of neither. His lordship's observations are new and acute; some very shrewd, as that to the duc de Guise; his discourse on the Reformation very wise. To the French confessor his reply was spirited; indeed his behaviour to Luynes, and all his conduct, gave ample evidence of his constitutional fire. But nothing is more marked than the air of veracity or persuasion which runs through the whole narrative. If he make us wonder, and wonder make us doubt, the charm of his ingenuous integrity dispels our hesitation. The whole relation throws singular light on the manners of the age, though the gleams are transient. In those manners nothing is more striking than the strange want of police in this country. I will not point out instances, as I have already perhaps too much opened the contents of a book, which if it give other readers half the pleasure it afforded me, they will own themselves extraordinarily indebted to the noble person, by whose favour I am permitted to communicate to them so great a curiosity.



THE  
L I F E  
OF  
EDWARD LORD HERBERT  
OF  
CHERBURY.

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I do believe that if all my ancestors had set down their lives in writing, and left them to posterity, many documents necessary to be known of those who both participate of their natural inclinations and humours, must in all probability run a not much different course, might have been given for their instruction; and certainly it will be found much better for men to guide themselves by such observations as their father, grandfather, and great grandfather might have delivered to them, than by those vulgar rules and examples which cannot in all points so exactly agree unto them. Therefore, whether their life were private, and contained only precepts necessary to treat with their children, servants, tenants, kinsmen and neighbours, or employed abroad in the university, or study of the law, or in the court, or in the camp, their heirs might have benefitted themselves more by them than by any else; for which reason I have thought fit to relate to my posterity those passages of my life, which I conceive may best declare me, and be most usefull to them. In the delivery of which, I profess to write with all truth and sincerity,

as scorning ever to deceive or speak false to any : and therefore detesting it much more where I am under obligation of speaking to those so near me : and if this be one reason for taking my pen in hand at this time, so as my age is now past threescore, it will be fit to recollect my former actions, and examine what had been done well or ill, to the intent I may both reform that which was amiss, and so make my peace with God, as also comfort my self in those things which, through God's great grace and favour, have been done according to the rules of conscience, vertue, and honor. Before yet I bring my self to this accompt, it will be necessary I say somewhat concerning my ancestors, as far as the notice of them is come to me in any credible way ; of whom yet I cannot say much, since I was but eight years old when my grandfather died, and that my father lived but about four years after ; and that for the rest I have lived for the most part from home, it is impossible I should have that intire knowledge of their actions which might inform me sufficiently ; I shall only therefore relate the more known and undoubted parts of their lives.\*

My father was Richard Herbert, esq, son to Edward Herbert, esq, and grandchild to sir Richard Herbert, knt, who was a younger son of sir Richard Herbert, of Colebrook, in Monmouthshire, of all whom I shall say a little. And first of my father, whom I remember to have been black-haired and bearded, as all my ancestors of his side are said to have been, of a manly or somewhat stern look, but withall very handsome and well compact in his limbs, and of a great courage, whereof he gave proof, when he was so barbarously

\* Though his lordship, according to his scrupulous exactness, would set down nothing relating to his ancestors but what was of undoubted notoriety, yet it is probable that he had some memorials of his family in writing ; for Dugdale in his *Baronage*, vol. ii. p. 256 edit. of 1676, quotes a curious passage relating to the family's assumption of the name of Herbert from a manuscript book, which he had seen in the hands of our author, lord Herbert.

assaulted by many men in the church yard at Lanervil, at what time he would have apprehended a man who denied to appear to justice; for defending himself against them all, by the help only of one John ap Howell Corbet, he chaced his adversaries untill a villain, coming behind him, did over the shoulders of others wound him on the head behind with a forest bill untill he fell down, thô recovering himself again, notwithstanding his skull was cutt through to the pia mater of the brain, he saw his adversaries fly away, and after walked home to his house at Llyssyn, where, after he was cured, he offered a single combat to the chief of the family, by whose procurement it was thought the mischief was committed; but he disclaiming wholly the action as not done by his consent, which he offered to testifie by oath, and the villain himself flying into Ireland, whence he never returned, my father desisted from prosecuting the business any farther in that kind, and attained, notwithstanding the said hurt, that health and strength, that he returned to his former exercises in a countrey life, and became the father of many children. As for his integrity in his places of deputy lieutenant of the county, justice of the peace, and custos rotulorum, which he, as my grandfather before him held, it is so memorable to this day, that it was sayd his enemies appeal'd to him for justice, which they also found on all occasions. His learning was not vulgar, as understanding well the Latin tongue, and being well versed in history. My grandfather was of a various life, beginning first at court, where after he had spent most part of his means, he became a soldier, and made his fortune with his sword at the seige of St Quintens in France, and other wars, both in the north, and in the rebellions hapning in the times of king Edward the sixth and queen Mary, with so good success, that he not only came off still with the better, but got so much money and wealth as enabled him to buy the greatest part of that livelyhood which is descended to me, thô yet I hold some lands which his mother, the lady Ann Herbert purchased, as appears by the deeds



made to her by that name, which I can show; and might have held more, which my grandfather sold under foot at an under value in his youth, and might have been recovered by my father, had my grandfather suffered him. My grandfather was noted to be a great enemy to the outlaws and thieves of his time, who robbed in great numbers in the mountains in Montgomeryshire, for the suppressing of whom he went often both day and night to the places where they were; concerning which, thô many particulars have been told me, I shall mention one only. Some outlaws being lodged in an alehouse upon the hills of Llandinam, my grandfather and a few servants coming to apprehend them, the principal outlaw shot an arrow against my grandfather, which stuck in the pummel of his saddle; whereupon my grandfather coming up to him with his sword in his hand, and taking him prisoner, he showed him the said arrow, bidding him look what he had done, whereof the outlaw was no farther sensible than to say, he was sorry that he left his better bow at home, which he conceived would have carryed his shot to his body; but the outlaw being brought to justice, suffer'd for it. My grandfather's power was so great in the countrey, that divers ancestors of the better families now in Montgomeryshire were his servants, and rais'd by him. He delighted also much in hospitality, as having a very long table twice covered every meal with the best meats that could be gotten, and a very great family. It was an ordinary saying in the countrey at that time, when they saw any fowl rise, "Fly where thou wilt, thou wilt light at Black-hall," which was a low building, but of great capacity, my grandfather erected in his age; his father and himself in former times having lived in Montgomery castle. Notwithstanding yet these expences at home, he brought up his children well, married his daughters to the better sort of persons near him, and bringing up his younger sons at the university; from whence his son Mathew went to the Low Country wars, and after some time spent there came home, and lived in the countrey at

Dolegeog, upon a house and fair living, which my grandfather bestowed upon him. His son also, Charles Herbert, after he had past sometime in the Low Countreys, likewise returned home, and was after married to an inheretrix, whose eldest son, called sir Edward Herbert knt, is the king's attorney general. His son George, who was of New College in Oxford, was very learned and of a pious life, died in a middle age of a dropsy. Notwithstanding all which occasions of expence, my grandfather purchased much lands, without doing any thing yet unjustly or hardly, as may be collected by an offer I have publickly made divers times, having given my bailiffe in charge to proclaim to the countrey, that if any lands were gotten by evill means, or so much as hardly, they should be compounded for, or restored again ; but to this day, never any man yet complained to me in this kind. He died at the age of fourscore or thereabouts, and was buried in Montgomery church, without having any monument made for him, which yet for my father is there set up in a fair manner. My great grandfather, sir Richard Herbert, was steward in the time of king Henry the eighth, of the lordships and marches of North Wales, East Wales, and Cardeganshire, and had power, in a marshal law, to execute offenders ; in the using thereof he was so just, that he acquired to himself a singular reputation, as may appear upon the records of that time, kept in the paper-chamber at Whitehall, some touch whereof I have made in my "History of Henry the eighth ;" of him I can say little more than, that he likewise was a great suppressor of rebels, thieves, and outlaws, and that he was just and conscionable ; for if a false or cruel person had that power committed to his hands, he would have raised a great fortune out of it, whereof he left little, save what his father gave him, unto posterity. He lyeth buried likewise in Montgomery ; the upper monument of the two placed in the chauncell being erected for him. My great great-grandfather sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, was that incomparable heroe who (in the history of Hall and Grafton, as it appears) twice

past through a great army of northern men alone, with his poll-ax in his hand, and returned without any mortal hurt, which is more than is famed of Amadis de Gall, or the knight of the sun. I shall besides this relation of sir Richard Herbert's prowess in the battle at Banbury or Edgcote-hill, being the place where the late battle was fought, deliver some traditions concerning him, which I have received from good hands; one is, that the said sir Richard Herbert, being employed, together with his brother William, earle of Pembroke, to reduce certain\* rebels in North Wales, sir Richard Herbert besieged a principal person of them at Harlech castle in Merionethshire: the captain of this place had been a soldier in the wars of France, whereupon he said he had kept a castle in France so long, that he made the old women in Wales talk of him; and that he wou'd keep the castle so long that he wou'd make the old women in France talk of him; and indeed as the place was almost impregnable but by famine, sir Richard Herbert was constrained to take him in by composition, he surrend'ring himself upon condition, that sir Richard Herbert should do what he cou'd to save his life, which being accepted, sir Richard brought him to king Edward the fourth, desiring his highness to give him a pardon, since he yielded up a place of importance, which he might have kept longer, upon this hope: but the king replying to sir Richard Herbert, that he had no power by his commission to pardon any, and there-

\* It was an insurrection in the ninth year of Edward the fourth, headed by sir John Coniers and Robert Riddesdale, in favour of Henry the sixth. This William earl of Pembroke and his brother sir Richard Herbert being sent against them, were to be joined by the earl of Devonshire, but a squabble happening between the two earls about quarters, the earl of Devonshire separated from Pembroke, who engaging the enemy at Danesmoore near Edgcote in Northamptonshire, was defeated and taken prisoner, with his brother, and both were put to death, with Richard Wiltville earl Rivers, father of the queen, by command of the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, who had revolted from Edward.

fore might, after the representation hereof to his majesty, safe deliver him up to justice; sir Richard Herbert answered he had not yet done the best he cou'd for him, and therefore most humbly desired his highness to do one of two things, either to put him again in the castle where he was, and command some other to take him out, or, if his highness would not do so, to take his life for the said captain's, that being the last proof he could give that he used his uttermost endeavour to save the said captain's life. The king finding himself urged thus far, gave sir Richard Herbert the life of the said captain, but withal he bestowed no other reward for his service. The other history is, that sir Richard Herbert, together with his brother the earle of Pembroke, being in Anglesy apprehending there seven brothers which had done many mischiefs and murders; in these times the earle of Pembroke thinking it fit to root out so wicked a progeny, commanded them all to be hanged; whereupon the mother of them coming to the earle of Pembroke, upon her knees desired him to pardon two, or at leastwise one of her said sons, affirming that the rest were sufficient to satisfie justice or example, which request a'so sir Richard Herbert seconded; but the earle finding them all equally guilty, said he cou'd make no distinction betwixt them, and therefore commanded them to be executed together; at which the mother was so aggrieved, that with a pair of woollen beads on her arms, for so the relation goeth, she on her knees curst him, praying God's mischief might fall to him in the first battle he should make: the earle after this, coming with his brother to Edgcot-field, as is before set down, after he had put his men in order to fight, found his brother sir Richard Herbert in the head of his men, leaning upon his poll-ax in a kind of sad or pensive manner, whereupon the earle said, "What, doth thy great body," for he was higher by the head than any one in the army, "apprehend any thing that thou art so melancholy, or art thou weary with marching, that thou doest lean thus upon thy poll-ax?" Sir Richard Herbert replied, that he was neither of both, whereof he

*should see the proof presently ; “ Only I cannot but apprehend on your part, least the curse of the woman with the woollen beads fall upon you.”* This sir Richard Herbert lyeth buried in Abergavenny, in a sumptuous monument for those times, which still remains, whereas his brother the earle of Pembroke being buried in Tintirne-abbey, his monument together with the church lye now wholly defaced and ruin’d. This earle of Pembroke had a younger son, which had a daughter which married the eldest son of the earle of Worcester, who carried away the fair castle of Ragland, with many thousand pounds yearly from the heir male of that house, which was the second son of the said earle of Pembroke, and ancestor of the family of St Gillians, whose daughter and heir I after married, as shall be told in its place. And here it is very remarkable, that the younger sons of the said earle of Pembroke, and sir R. Herbert left their posterity after them, who in the person of myself and my wife united both houses again, which is the more memorable, that when the said earle of Pembroke and sir R. Herbert were taken prisoners in defending the just cause of Edward the fourth, at the battle above-said, the earle never intreated that his own life might be saved, but his brother’s, as it appears by the said history. So that joyning of both houses together in my posterity, ought to produce a perpetual obligation of friendship and mutual love in them one to another, since by these two brothers, so brave an example thereof was given, as seeming not to live or die but for one another.

My mother was Magdalen Newport daughter of sir Richard Newport and Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of sir Thomas Bromley, one of the privy councill and executor of king Henry the eighth, who surviving her husband gave rare testimonies of an incomparable piety to God, and love to her children, as being most assiduous and devout in her daily, both private and publick prayers, and so carefull to provide for her posterity, that tho it were in her power to give her estate (which was very great) to whom she would, yet she

continued still unmarried and so provident for them, that after she had bestowed all her daughters with sufficient portions upon very good neighbouring families, she delivered up her estate and care of house-keeping to her eldest son Francis, when now she had for many years kept hospitality with that plenty and order as exceeded all either of her countrey or time; for, besides abundance of provision and good cheer for guests, which her son sir Francis Newport continued, she used ever after dinner to distribute, with her own hands, to the poor, who resorted to her in great numbers, alms in money, to every one of them, more or less, as she thought they needed it. By these ancestors I am descended of Talbot, Devoreux, Gray, Corbet, and many other noble families, as may be seen in their matches, extant in the many fair coats the Newports bear. I could say much more of my ancestors of that side likewise, but that I should exceed my proposed scope: I shall therefore only say somewhat more of my mother, my brothers, and sisters; and for my mother, after she lived most virtuously and lovingly with her husband for many years, she after his death erected a fair monument for him in Montgomery church; brought up her children carefully, and put them in good courses for making their fortunes, and briefly, was that woman Dr Donne hath described in his funeral sermon of her printed. The names of her children were, Edward, Richard, William, Charles, George, Henry, Thomas; her daughters were, Elizabeth, Margaret, Frances; of all whom I will say a little before I begin a narration of my own life, so I may pursue my intended purpose the more intirely. My brother Richard, after he had been brought up in learning, went to the Low Countreys, where he continued many years with much reputation, both in the wars, and for fighting single duels, which were many, insomuch that between both, he carried, as I have been told, the scars of four and twenty wounds upon him to his grave, and lyeth buried in Bergenopzoom. My brother William being brought up likewise in learning, went afterwards to the wars in

Denmark, where fighting a single combat, and having his sword broken, he not only defended himself with that piece which remained, but closing with his adversary threw him down, and so held him untill company came in ; and then went to the wars in the Low Countreys, but lived not long after ; my brother Charles was fellow of New College in Oxford, where he dyed young, after he had given great hopes of himself every way. My brother\* George was so excellent a scholar, that he was made the public orator of the university in Cambridge, some of whose English works are extant, which, tho' they be rare in their kind, yet are far short of expressing those perfections he had in the Greek and Latin tongue, and all divine and human literature ; his wife was most holy and exemplary, inso-much that about Salisbury, where he lived beneficed for many years, he was little less than sainted : he was not exempt from passion and choler, being infirmities to which all our race is subject, but, that excepted, without reproach in his actions. Henry, after he had been brought up in learning as the other brothers were, was sent by his friends into France, where he attained the language of that country in much perfection, after which time he came to court, and was made gentleman of the king's privy chamber, and master of the revells, by which means, as also by a good marriage, he attained to great fortunes, for himself and posterity to enjoy : he also hath given several proofs of his courage in duells, and otherwise, being no less dexterous in the ways of the court, as having gotten much by it. My brother Thomas was a posthumus, as being born some weeks after his father's death ; he, also being

\* He had studied foreign languages in hopes of rising to be secretary of state, but being disappointed in his views at court, he took orders, became prebend of Lincoln, and rector of Bemerton near Salisbury. He died between 1630 and 1640. His poems were printed at London 1635, under the title of *The Temple* ; and his *Priest to the Temple*, in 1652. Lord Bacon dedicated to him a translation of some psalms into English verse. V. General Dict.

brought up a while at school, was sent as a page to sir Edward Cecil,\* lord generall of his majesty's auxiliary forces to the princes in Germany, and was particularly at the seige of Juliers, Anno Dom. 1610, where he shewed such forwardness, as no man in that great army before him was more adventurous on all occasions. Being returned from thence, he went to the East Indies under the command of captain Joseph, who, in his way thither, meeting with a great Spanish ship was unfortunately killed in fight with them; whereupon his men being disheartned, my brother Thomas encouraged them to revenge the loss, and renewed the fight in that manner (as Sir John Smyth governour of the East India Company told me, at several times) that they forced the Spanish ship to run a ground, where the English shot her through and through so often that she run her self a ground, and was left wholly unserviceable. After which time he with the rest of the fleet came to Suratte, and from thence went with the merchants to the Great Mogull, where, after he had stayed about a twelvemonth, he returned with the same fleet back again to England. After this he went in the navy which king James sent to Argier, under the command of sir Robert Mansell, where our men being in great want of money and victuals, and many ships scattering themselves to try whether they cou'd obtain a prize whereby to relieve the whole fleet; it was his hap to meet with a ship, which he took, and in it to the value of eighteen hundred pounds, which it was thought saved the whole fleet from perishing: he conducted also count Mansfelt to the Low Countreys in one of the king's ships, which being unfortunately cast away not far from the shore, the count together with his company saved themselves in a long boat or shalop, the benefit whereof my said brother refused to take for the present, as resolving to assist the master of the ship, who endeavoured by all means to clear the ship from the danger; but finding it impossible, he was the last man that saved himself in

\* Afterwards Viscount Wimbleton. See an account of him in *The Royal and Noble Authors*.



the long boat ; the master thereof yet refusing to come away, so that he perished together with the ship. After this, he commanded one of the ships that were sent to bring the prince from Spain, where, upon his return, there being a fight between the Low Countrymen and the Dunkerkers, the prince, who thought it was not for his dignity to suffer them to fight in his presence, commanded some of his ships to part them, whereupon my said brother with some other ships got betwixt them on either side, and shot so long, that both parties were glad to desist. After he had brought the prince safely home, he was appointed to go with one of the king's ships to the narrow seas : he also fought divers times with great courage and success with divers men in single fight, sometimes hurting and disarming his adversary, and sometimes driving him away : after all these proofs given of himself, he expected some great command, but finding himself as he thought undervalued, he retired to a private and melancholy life, being much discontented to find others preferred to him ; in which sullain humour having lived many years, he died and was buried in London, in St Martin's near Charing-cross, so that of all my brothers none survives but Henry.

Elizabeth my eldest sister was married to sir Henry Jones of Albemarle, who had by her one son, and two daughters ; the latter end of her time was the most sickly and miserable that hath been known in our times, while for the space of about fourteen years she languished and pined away to skin and bones, and at last died in London, and lyeth buried in a church called                      near Cheapside. Margaret was married to John Vaughan son and heir to Owen Vaughan of Llwydiart, by which match some former differences betwixt our house and that were appeas'd and reconciled ; he had by her three daughters and heirs, Dorothy, Magdalen, and Katharine, of which the two latter only survive : the estate of the Vaughans yet went to the heirs male, 'thô not so clearly but that the entail which carried the said lands was ques-

tioned. Frances my youngest sister was married to sir John Brown, kt, in Lincolnshire, who had by her divers children, the eldest son of whom, 'tho young, fought divers duells, in one of which it was his fortune to kill one Lee, of a great family in Lancashire. I cou'd say many things more concerning all these, but it is not my purpose to particularize their lives: I have related only some passages concerning them to the best of my memory, being assured I have not failed much in my relation of them. I shall now come to my self.

I was born at Eyton in Shropshire, (being a house which together with fair lands descended upon the Newports by my said grandmother,) between the hours of twelve and one of the clock in the morning; my infancy was very sickly, my head continually purging it self very much by my ears, whereupon also it was so long before I began to speak, that many thought I shou'd be ever dumb: the very farthest thing I remember is, that when I understood what was say'd by others, I did yet forbear to speak, lest I shou'd utter something that were imperfect or impertinent: when I came to talk, one of the farthest inquiries I made was how I came into this world? I told my nurse, keeper, and others, I found my self here indeed, but from what cause or beginning, or by what means I cou'd not imagine; but for this as I was laughed at by nurse and some other women that were then present, so I was wonder'd at by others, who said they never heard a child but my self ask that question; upon which, when I came to riper years I made this observation, which afterwards a little comforted me, that as I found my self in possession of this life, without knowing any thing of the pangs and throws my mother suffer'd, when yet doubtless they did no less press and afflict me than her, so I hope my soul shall pass to a better life than this without being sensible of the anguish and pains my body shall feel in death. For, as I believe then I shall be transmitted to a more happy estate by God's great grace, I am confident I shall no more know, how

I came out of this world, than how I came into it ; and because since that time I have made verses to this purpose, I have thought fit to insert them here as a place proper for them : the argument is

### VITA.

**Prima fuit quondam genitali semine Vita  
Procurasse suas dotes, ubi Plastica Virtus  
Gestiit, et vegeto molem perfundere succo,  
Externamq; suo formam cohibere recessu,  
Dum conspirantes possint accedere causæ,  
Et totum tuto licuit proludere fœtum.**

**Altera materno tandem succrevit in arvo  
Exiles spumans ubi spiritus induit Artus,  
Exertusq; simul miro sensoria textu  
Cudit, et hospitium menti non vile paravit,  
Quæ Cælo delapsa suas mox inde capessat  
Partes, et sortis tanquàm præsaga futuræ  
Corrigat ignavum pondus, nec inutile sistat.**

**Tertia nunc agitur, quâ Scena recluditur ingens,  
Cernitur et festum Cæli, Terræq; Theatrum ;  
Congener et species, rerum variataq; forma ;  
Et circumferri, motu proprioq; vagari  
Contigit, et leges æternæq; fœdera mundi  
Visere, et assiduo redeuntia sidera cursum.  
Unde etiam vitæ causas, nexumq; tueri  
Fas erat et summum longè præsciscere Numen ;  
Dum varios mirè motus contemperet orbis,  
Et Pater, et Dominus, Custos, et Conceptor idem  
Audit ubiq; Deus ; Quid ni modò Quarta sequatur ?  
Sordibus excussis cùm mens jam purior instat,  
Auctaq; doctrinis variis, virtuteq; pollens  
Intendit vires, magis et sublimia spirat,  
Et tacitus cordi stimulus suffigitur imo,  
Ut velit heic quisquam sorti superesse caducæ,  
Expetitq; status felicior ambitiosus  
Ritibus, et sacris, et cultu religioso,  
Et nova successit melioris conscia Fati  
Spes superis hærens, toto perfusaq; Cælo,  
Et sese sancto demittit Numen Amori,  
Et data Cælestis non fallax Tessera Vitæ,  
Cumq; Deo licuit non uno jure pacisci,  
Ut mihi seu servo reddatur debita merces,  
Filius aut bona adire paterna petam, mihi sponsor**

Sit fidei Numen ; mox hanc sin exuo vitam,  
 Compos jam factus melioris, tum simul uti  
 Jure meo cupiam liber, meq; asserit inde  
 Ipse Deus (cujus non terris Gratia tantum,  
 Sed Caelis prœstat) Quid ni modo Quinta sequatur,  
 Et Sexta, et quicquid tandem spes ipsa requirat ?

### DE VITA CÆLESTI CONJECTURA.

Toto lustratus Genio mihi gratulor ipsi,  
 Fati securus, dum nec terroribus ullis  
 Dejicior, tacitos condo vel corde dolores,  
 Sed laetus mediis acrumnis transigo vitam,  
 Invitisq; malis (quae terras undiq; cingunt)  
 Ardenti virtute viam super aethera quaerens,  
 Proxima Caelestis praecepi praemia vitae,  
 Ultima praetento, divino nixus amore,  
 Quô simul exuperans creperae ludibria sortis,  
 Barbara vesani linquo consortia Saeculi,  
 Auras infernas defflans, spiransq; supernas,  
 Dum sanctis memet totum sic implico flammis,  
 Hisce ut suffultus penetrem laquearia Caeli,  
 Atq; novi latè speculer magnalia Mundi,  
 Et notas animas, proprio jam lumine pulchras  
 Invisam, Superumq; choros, mentesq; beatas,  
 Quêis aveam miscere ignes, ac vincula sacra,  
 Atq; vice alternâ transire in gaudia, Caelum  
 Quae dederit cunctis, ipsis aut indita nobis,  
 Vel quae communi voto sancire licebit.  
 Ut Deus interea cumulans sua praemia, nostrum  
 Augeat inde decus. proprioq; illustret amore,  
 Nec Caeli Caelis desint, aeternavè Vitae  
 Saecula, vel Saeculis nova gaudia, qualia totum  
 Aevum nec minuat, nec terminat Infinitum.  
 His major desit nec gratia Numinis alma,  
 Quae miris variata modis haec gaudia crescant,  
 Excipiatq; statum quemvis facilius alter ;  
 Et quae nec sperare datur sint praestita nobis,  
 Nec, nisi sola capit quae mens divina, supersint ;  
 Quae licet ex sese sint perfectissima longe,  
 Ex nobis saltem magè condecorata videntur :  
 Cum segnes animas, caelum quas indit ab ortu,  
 Exaequat tantum labor ac industria nostra ;  
 Ac demum poliat doctrina, et moribus illis,  
 Ut redeant pulchrae, dotem caeloq; reportent :  
 Quum simul arbitrijs usi, mala pellimus illa,  
 Quae nec vel pepulit caelum, vel pelleret olim,

Ex nobis ita sit jam gloria Numinis ingens,  
 Auctior in caelos quoq; gloria nostra redundat,  
 Et quae virtuti sint debita praemia, tandem  
 Vel Numen solito reddunt faelicius ipsum.  
 Amplior unde simul redhibetur Gratia nobis,  
 Ut vel pro voto nostro jam singula cedant.  
 Nam si libertas chara est, per ardua locorum  
 Conspicua innumeris Caelis discurrere fas est,  
 Deliciasq; loci cujusvis carpere passim.  
 Altior est animo si contemplatio fixa,  
 Cuncta adaperata patent nobis jam scrinia Caeli,  
 Arcanasq; Dei rationes nôsse juvabit :  
 Hujus sin repetat quisquam consortia saeculi,  
 Mox agere in terris, ac procurare licebit  
 Res heic humanas, et justis legibus uti :  
 Sin magè caelesti jam delectamur amore,  
 Solvimur in flammis, quae se lambuntq; fovuntq;  
 Mutuò, et impliciti sanctis ardoribus, unâ  
 Surgimus amplexi, copulâ junctiq; tenaci,  
 Partibus, et toto miscemur ubiq; vicissim ;  
 Ardoresq; novos accendit Numinis ardor.  
 Sin laudare Deum lubeat, nos laudat et ipse,  
 Concinit Angelicusq; chorus, modulamine suavi  
 Personat et caelum, prostant et publica nobis  
 Gaudia, et eduntur passim spectacula laeta ;  
 Fitq; theatralis quasi Caeli machina tota.  
 Hanc mundi molem sin vis replicaverit ingens  
 Numinis, atq; novas formas exculpserit inde  
 Dotibus ornatus alijs, magis atq; capaces ;  
 Nostras mox etiam formas renovare licebit,  
 Et dotes sensusq; alios assumere, tandem  
 Consummata magis quo gaudia nostra resurgant,  
 Hæc si conjecto mortali corpore fretus  
 Corpus ut exuerim, Quid nî majora recludam ?

And certainly since in my mother's womb this  
 plastica or formatrix which formed my eyes, ears, and  
 other senses, did not intend them for that dark and  
 noysome place, but as being conscious of a better life,  
 made them as fitting organs to apprehend and perceive  
 those things which shou'd occur in this world : so I be-  
 lieve since my coming into this world my soul hath  
 formed or produced certain faculties which are almost  
 as useless for this life, as the abovenamed senses were  
 for the mother's womb ; and these faculties are hope,  
 faith, love, and joy, since they never rest or fix upon

any transitory or perishing object in this world, as extending themselves to something farther than can be here given, and indeed acquiesce only in the perfect, eternal, and infinite: I confess they are of some use here, yet I appeal to every body whether any worldly felicity did so satisfie their hope here, that they did not wish and hope for something more excellent; or whether they had ever that faith in their own wisdom, or in the help of man, that they were not constrained to have recourse to some diviner and superior power, than they could find on earth, to relieve them in their danger or necessity; whether ever they cou'd place their love on any earthly beauty, that it did not fade and wither, if not frustrate or deceive them; or whether ever their joy was so consummate in any thing they delighted in, that they did not want much more than it, or indeed this world can afford to make them happy. The proper objects of these faculties therefore, 'tho framed or at least appearing in this world, is God only, upon whom faith, hope, and love were never placed in vain, or remain long unrequited: but to leave these discourses and come to my childhood again; I remember this deflection at my ears above-mentioned, continued in that violence, that my friends did not think fit to teach me so much as my alphabet 'till I was seven years' old, at which time my deflection ceased, and left me free of the disease my ancestors were subject unto, being the epilepsy. My schoolmaster in the house of my said lady grandmother began then to teach me the alphabet, and afterwards grammar, and other books commonly read in schools, in which I profitted so much, that upon this theme, "*Audaces fortuna juvat*," I made an oration of a sheet of paper, and fifty or sixty verses in the space of one day. I remember in that time I was corrected sometimes for going to cuffs with two school-fellows, being both elder than myself, but never for telling a lye or any other fault, my natural disposition and inclination being so contrary to all falshood, that being demanded whether I had committed any fault whereof I might be justly suspected, I did use ever to confess it

freely, and thereupon choosing rather to suffer correction than to stain my mind with telling a lye, which I did judge then, no time cou'd ever deface ; and I can affirm to all the world truly, that from my first infancy to this hour I told not willingly any thing that was false, my soul naturally having an antipathy to lying and deceit. After I had attained the age of nine, during all which time I lived in my said lady grandmother's house at Eytton, my parents thought fit to send me to some place where I might learn the Welch tongue, as believing it necessary to enable me to treat with those of my friends and tenants who understood no other language, whereupon I was recommended to Mr Edward Thellwall, of Place ward, in Denghbyshire ; this gentleman I must remember with honour, as having of himself acquired the exact knowledge of Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, and all other learning, having for that purpose neither gone beyond seas, nor so much as had the benefit of any universities. Besides, he was of that rare temper in governing his choler, that I never saw him angry during the time of my stay there, and have heard so much of him for many years before. When occasion of offence was given him, I have seen him seldom red-den in the face, and after remain for a while silent, but when he spake, his words were so calm and gentle, that I found he had digested his choler, 'tho yet I confess I cou'd never attain that perfection, as being subject ever to choler and passion, more than I ought, and generally to speak my mind freely, and indeed rather to imitate those who having fire within doors, choose rather to give it vent than suffer it to burn the house. I commend yet much more the manner of Mr Thellwall, and certainly he that can forbear speaking for some-while, will remit much of his passion, but as I cou'd not learn much of him in this kind. so I did as little profit in learning the Welch or any other of those languages that worthy gentleman understood, as having a tertian ague for the most part of nine months, which was all the time I staid in his house ; having recover'd my strength again, I was sent, being about the age of

ten, to be taught by one Mr Newton, at Diddlebury, in Shropshire, where, in the space of less than two years, I not only recover'd all I had lost in my sickness, but attained to the knowledge of the Greek tongue and logick, in so much that at twelve years' old my parents thought fit to send me to Oxford to university colledge, where I remember to have disputed at my first coming in logick, and to have made in Greek the exercises required in that colledge, oftner than in Latin. I had not been many months in the university, but news was brought me of my father's death, his sickness being a lethargy, caros, or coma vigilans, which continued long upon him; he seemed at last to dye without much pain 'tho in his senses. Upon opinion given by physicians that his disease was mortal, my mother thought fit to send for me home, and presently after my father's death to desire her brother, sir Francis Newport, to hast to London to obtain my wardship for his and her use joynly, which he obtained. Shortly after I was sent again to my studies in Oxford, where I had not been long but that an overture for a match with the daughter and heir of sir William Herbert, of St Gillians, was made, the occasion whereof was this; sir William Herbert being heir male to the old earle of Pembroke above-mention'd by a younger son of his (for the eldest son had a daughter who carried away those great possessions the earle of Worcester now holds in Monmouthshire as I said before) having one only daughter surviving, made a will whereby he estated all his possessions in Monmouthshire and Ireland upon his said daughter, upon conditions she married one of the surname of Herbert, otherwise the said lands to descend to the heirs male of the said sir William; and his daughter, to have only a small portion out of the lands he had in Anglesey and Carnarvanshire; his lands being thus settled, sir William died shortly afterwards. He was a man much conversant with books, and especially given to the study of divinity, in so much that he writ an exposition upon the revelations which is printed, 'tho some thought he was as far from finding the sense



thereof as he was from attaining the philosopher's-stone, which was another part of his study; howsoever he was very understanding in all other things, he was noted yet to<sup>e</sup> be of a very high mind, but I can say little of him, as having never seen his person, nor otherwise had much information concerning him. His daughter and heir, called Mary, after her father died, continued unmarried 'till she was one and twenty, none of the Herberts appearing in all that time who either in age or fortune was fit to match her: about this time I had attained the age of fifteen, and a match at last being proposed, yet, notwithstanding the disparity of years betwixt us, upon the eight and twentieth of February, 1598, in the house of Eyton, where the same man, vicar of                      married my father and mother, christened and married me, I espoused her. Not long after my marriage, I went again to Oxford, together with my wife and mother, who took a house and lived for some certain time there; and now having a due remedy for that lasciviousness to which youth is naturally inclined, I followed my book more close than ever, in which course I continued till I attained about the age of eighteen, when my mother took a house in London, between which place and Montgomery castle I passed my time 'till I came to the age of one and twenty, having in that space divers children, I having now none remaining but Beatrice, Richard, and Edward. During this time of living in the university or at home, I did without any master or teacher attain the knowledge of the French, Italian, and Spanish languages, by the help of some books in Latin or English translated into those idioms, and the dictionarys of those several languages; I attained also to sing my part at first sight in musick, and to play on the lute with very little, or almost no teaching. My intention in learning languages being to make myself a citizen of the world as far as it were possible; and my learning of music was for this end, that I might entertain myself at home, and together refresh my mind after my studies, to which I was exceedingly inclined, and that I might not need the

company of young men, in whom I observed in those times much ill example and debauchery.

Being gotten thus far into my age, I shall give some observations concerning ordinary education, even from the first infancy 'till the departure from the university, as being desirous together with the narration of my life to deliver such rules as I conceive may be usefull to my posterity. And first, I find that in the infancy those diseases are to be remedied which may be hereditary unto them on either side : so that if they be subject to the stone or gravel, I do conceive it will be good for the nurse sometimes to drink posset drinks in which are boyled such things as are good to expell gravell and stone ; the child also himself when he comes to some age may use the same posset drinks of herbs, as milium solis, saxifrigia, &c., good for the stone many are reckoned by the physicians, of which also my self cou'd bring a large catalogue, but rather leave it to those who are expert in that art : the same course is to be taken for the gout, for which purpose I do much commend the bathing of childrens' legs and feet in the water wherein smyths quench their iron, as also water wherein alloz hath been infused, or boyled, as also the decoction of juniper-berries, bayberries, chamedris, chama-petis, which baths also are good for those that are hereditary subject to the palsie, for these things do much strengthen the sinews ; as also olum castorij, and succoni, which are not to be used without advice. They that are also subject to the spleen from their ancestors ought to use those herbs that are spleneticks ; and those that are troubled with the fallen sickness, with cephaniques, of which certainly I shou'd have had need but for the purging of my ears abovementioned. Briefly, what disease soever it be that is derived from ancestors of either side, it will be necessary first to give such medicines to the nurse as may make her milk effectual for those purposes, as also afterwards to give unto the child it self such specifique remedies as his age and constitution will bear. I cou'd say much more upon this point, as having delighted ever in the knowledge of herbs,

plants, and gums, and in few words the history of nature, in so much that coming to apothecaries' shops, it was my ordinary manner when I looked upon the bills filed up, containing the physicians' prescriptions, to tell every man's disease; howbeit, I shall not presume in these particulars to prescribe to my posterity, 'thò I believe I know the best receipts for almost all diseases, but shall leave them to the expert physicians, only I will recommend again to my posterity the curing of hereditary diseases in the very infancy, since otherwise without much difficulty they will never be cured.

When children go to school they shou'd have one to attend them who may take care of their manners as well as the school-master doth of their learning, for among boys all vice is easily learned, and here I cou'd wish it constantly observed, that neither the master shou'd correct him for faults of his manners, nor his governor for manners, for the faults in his learning. After the alphabet is taught, I like well the shortest and clearest grammars, and such books into which all the Greek and Latin words are severally contrived, in which kind one Comenus hath given an example: this being done it would be much better to proceed with Greek authors than with Latin, for as it is as easy to learn at first the one as the other, it wou'd be much better to give the first impressions into the child's memory of those things which are more rare than usual: therefore I wou'd have them begin at Greek first, and the rather that there is not that art in the world wherein the Greeks have not excelled and gone before others; so that when you look upon philosophy, astronomy, mathematicks, medicine, and briefly all learning, the Greeks have exceeded all nations. When he shall be ready to go to the university, it will be fit also his governor for manners go along with him, it being the frail nature of youth as they grow to ripeness in age to be more capable of doing ill, unless their manners be well guided, and themselves by degrees habituated in vertue, with which if once they acquaint themselves they will find more pleasure in it than ever they can do in vice, since

every body loves vertuous persons, whereas the vitious do scarce love one another; for this purpose it will be necessary that you keep the company of grave, learned men, who are of good reputation, and hear rather what they say, and follow what they do, than follow the examples of young, wild, and rash persons; and certainly of those two parts which are to be acquired in youth, whereof one is goodness and vertuous manners, the other learning and knowledge, I shall so much prefer the first before the second, as I shall ever think virtue, accompanied with ordinary discretion, will make his way better both to happiness in this world and the next, than any puff'd knowledge which would cause him to be insolent and vain glorious, or minister, as it were, arms and advantages to him for doing a mischief; so that it is pity that wicked dispositions shou'd have knowledge to actuate their ill intentions, or courage to maintain them, that fortitude which shou'd defend all a man's vertues being never well imployed to defend his humors, passions, or vices. I do not approve for elder brothers that course of study which is ordinary used in the university, which is, if their parents perchance intend they shall stay three, four, or five years, to imploy the said time as if they meant to proceed masters of art and doctors in some science, for which purpose their tutors commonly spend much time in teaching them the subtilities of logick, which, as it is usually practised, enables them for little more than to be excellent wranglers, which art tho' it may be tolerable in a mercenary lawyer, I can by no means commend in a sober and well govern'd gentleman. I approve much those parts of logick which teach men to deduce their proofs from firm and undoubted principles, and show men to distinguish betwixt truth and falshood, and help them to discover fallacies, sophismes, and that which the schoolmen call vitious argumentations, concerning which I shall not here enter into a long discourse. So much of logick as may serve for this purpose being acquired, some good sum of philosophy may be learned, which may teach him both the ground of the Platonick

and Aristotelian philosophy. After which it will not be amiss to read the "*Idea Medicinæ Philosophicæ*," written by Severnius Danus, there being many things considerable concerning the Paracelsian principles written in that book which are not to be found in former writers; it will not be amiss also to read over *Franciscus Patricius* and *Tilesius*, who have examined and contraverted the ordinary peripatetick doctrine, all which may be performed in one year, that term being enough for philosophy as I conceive, and six months for logick, for I am confident a man may have quickly more than he needs of these two arts. These being attained, it will be requisite to study geography with exactness, so much as may teach a man the situation of all countries in the whole world, together with which it will be fit to learn something concerning the governments, manners, religions, either ancient or new, as also the interests of states and relations in amity, or strength in which they stand to their neighbours; it will be necessary also at the same time to learn the use of the celestial globe, the studies of both globes being complicated and joined together. I do not conceive yet the knowledge of judicial astrology so necessary, but only for general predictions; particular events being neither intended by, nor collected out of the stars. It will be also fit to learn arithmetick and geometry in some good measure, but especially arithmetick, it being most useful for many purposes, and among the rest for keeping accounts, whereof here is much use: as for the knowledge of lines, superficies, and bodies, 'tho' it be a science of much certainty and demonstration, it is not much usefull for a gentleman unless it be to understand fortifications, the knowledge whereof is worthy of those who intend the wars, 'tho' yet he must remember that whatsoever art doth in way of defence, art likewise in way of assailing can destroy. This study hath cost me much labour, but as yet I cou'd never find how any place cou'd be so fortified but that there were means in certain opposite lines to prevent or subvert all that cou'd be done in that kind. It will become a gentle-

man to have some knowledge in medicine, especially the diagnostick part, whereby he may take timely notice of a disease, and by that means timely prevent it, as also the prognostic part, whereby he may judge of the symphomes either increasing or decreasing in the disease, as also concerning the crisis or indication thereof. This art will get a gentleman not only much knowledge but much credit, since seeing any sick body he will be able to tell in all human probability whether he shall recover, or if he shall die of the disease, to tell what signes shall go before and what the conclusion will be ; it will become him also to know not only the ingredients but doses of certain cathartique or purging, emetique or vomitive medicines, specifique or cholérique, melancholique, or phlegmatique constitutions, phlebotomy being only necessary for those who abound in blood : besides I wou'd have a gentleman know how to make these medicines himself, and afterwards prepare them with his own hands, it being the manner of apothecaries so frequently to put in the succedanea that no man is sure to find with them medicines made with the true drugs which ought to enter into the composition when it is exotique or rare ; or when they are extant in the shop, no man can be assured that the said drugs are not rotten, or that they have not lost their natural force and vertue. I have studied this art very much also, and have in case of extremity ministered physick with that success which is strange, whereof I shall give two or three examples : Richard Griffiths of Sutton, my servant, being sick of a malignant pestilent fever, and tryed in vain all our country physitians cou'd do, and his water at last stinking so grievously, which physitians note to be a sign of extention of natural heat, and consequently of present death, I was intreated to see him, when as yet he had neither eaten, drank, slept, or known any body for the space of six or seven days, whereupon demanding whether the physitians had given him over, and it being answered unto me that they had, I said it wou'd not be amiss to give him the quantity of an hasle-nut of a certain rare

receipt which I had, assuring that if any thing in the world cou'd recover him, that wou'd ; of which I was so confident, that I wou'd come the next day at four of the clock in the afternoon unto him, and at that time I doubted not but they shou'd find signes of amendment, provided they shou'd put the doses I gave them being about the bigness of a nut down his throat, which being done with much difficulty, I came the morrow after at the hour appointed, when to the wonder of his family he knew me and asked for some broth, and not long after recover'd. My cozen Athelston Owen also of Rhue Sayson, having an hydrocephale also in that extremity that his eyes began to start out of his head, and his tongue to come out of his mouth, and his whole head finally exceeding its natural proportion, in so much that his physitians likewise left him ; I prescribed to him the decoction of two diuretique rootes, which after he had drank four or five days, he urin'd in that abundance that his head by degrees returned to it's ancient figure, and all other signes of health appeared, whereupon also he wrote a letter to me that he was so suddenly and perfectly restored to his former health, that it seemed more like a miracle than a cure ; for those are the very words in the letter he sent me. I cured a great lady in London of an issue of blood when all the physitians had given her over, with so easy a medicine that the lady herself was astonished to find the effects thereof. I cou'd give more examples in this kind, but these shall suffice ; I will for the rest deliver a rule I conceive for finding out the best receipts not only for curing all inward but outward hurts, such as are ulcers, tumors, contusions, wounds, and the like : you must look upon all pharmacopæia's or antidotaries\* of several countries ; of which sort I have in my library the " *Pharmacopæia Londinensis*," " *Parisiensis*," " *Amstelodamensis*," that of Quercsetan,†

\* Antidotaries usually make a part of the old dispensatories ; for when poisons were in fashion, antidotes were equally so.

† Josephus Quercetanus published a " *Pharmacopæia*

Bauderoni, Renadeus, Valerius Scordus, Pharmacopœia Coloniensis, Augustana, Venetiana, Vononiensis, Florentina, Romana, Messanensis ; in some of which are told not only what the receipts there set down are good for, but the doses of them. The rule I here give is, that what all the said dispensatories, antidotaries, or pharmacopœias prescribe as effectual for overcoming a disease, is certainly good, for as they are set forth by the authority of the physitians of these several countries, what they all ordain must necessarily be effectual : but they who will follow my advice shall find in that little short antidotary called “ Amstelodamensis ” not long since put forth, almost all that is necessary to be known for curing of diseases, wounds, &c. There is a book called “ Aurora Medicorum ” very fit to be read in this kind. Among writers of physick, I do especially commend after Hippocrates and Galen,\* Fernelius, Lud. Mercatus, and Dan. Sennertus, and Heurnius ; I cou’d name many more, but I conceive these may suffice. As for the chymique or spagyrique medicines, I cannot commend them to the use of my posterity, there being neither emetique, cathartique, diaphoretique, diuretique medicines extant among them, which are not much more happily and safely perform’d by vegetables ; but hereof enough, since I pretend no farther than to give some few directions to my posterity. In the mean while I conceive it is a fine study and worthy a gentleman to be a good botanique, that so he may know the nature of all herbs and plants, being our fellow creatures and made for the use of man ; for which purpose *Dogmaticorum restituta*,” 1607, 4to. Paris. Bricius Bauderonus, “ *Pharmacopœia et Praxis Medica*,” 1620, Paris. Johannes Renadæus, “ *Dispensatorium Medicum, et Antidotarium*,” 1609, 4to. Paris. Valerius Cordus, “ *Dispensatorium*,” Antw. 1568.

\* Johannes Fernelius (physician to Henry II. of France) published “ *Opera Medicinalia, et Universa Medicina*,” 1561, 4to. and 1577, fol. Lud. Mercatus (physitian to Phillip II. and III. of Spain) was author of “ *Opera Medica et Chirurgica*,” fol. Francof. 1620. Daniel Sennertus published “ *Institutiones Medicinæ*,” 1620 ; and Johannes Heurnius a work with the same title, 1597, Lugduni.



it will be fit for him to cull out of some good Herball all the icones, together with the descriptions of them, and to lay by themselves all such as grow in England, and afterwards to select again such as usually grow by the highwyside, in meadows, by rivers, or in marshes, or in corn-fields, or in dry and mountainous places, or on rocks, walls or in shady places, such as grow by the sea-side, for this being done, and the said icones being ordinarily carried by themselves, or by their servants, one may presently find out every herb he meets withall, especially if the said flowers be truly colour'd. Afterwards it will not be amiss to distinguish by themselves such herbs as are in gardens and are exotiques, and are transplanted hither. As for those plants which will not endure our clime, tho' the knowledge of them be worthy of a gentleman, and the vertues of them be fit to be learned, especially if they be brought over to a druggist as medicinall, yet the icones of them are not so pertinent to be known as the former, unless it be where there is less danger of adulterating the said medicaments, in which case it is good to have recourse to not only the botaniques but also to Gesnar's "Dispensatory," and to "Aurora Medicorum" above mention'd, being books which make a man distinguish betwixt good and bad drugs; and thus much of medicine may not only be usefull but delectable to a gentleman, since which way soever he passeth, he may find something to entertain him. I must no less commend the study of anatomy, which whosoever considers I believe will never be an atheist, the frame of man's body and coherence of his parts being so strange and paradoxal, that I hold it to be the greatest miracle of nature; tho' when all is done, I do not find she hath made it so much as proof against one disease, least it shou'd be thought to have made it no less than a prison to the soul.

Having thus passed over all human literature, it will be fit to say something of moral virtues and theological learning. As for the first, since the christians and the heathens are in a manner agreed concerning the definitions of virtues, it would not be inconvenient to begin

with those definitions which Aristotle in his "Morals" hath given, as being confirmed for the most part by the Platoniques, Stoiques, and other philosophers, and in general by the christian church, as well as all nations in the world whatsoever; they being doctrines imprinted in the soul in it's first original, and containing the principal and first notices by which man may attain his happiness here or hereafter; there being no man that is given to vice that doth not find much opposition both in his own conscience and in the religion and law as taught elsewhere; and this I dare say, that a vertuous man may not only go securely through all the religions but all the laws in the world, and whatsoever obstructions he meet, obtain both an inward peace and outward wellcome among all, with whom he shall negotiate or converse; this vertue therefore I shall recommend to my posterity as the greatest perfection he can attain unto in this life, and the pledge of eternal happiness hereafter, there being none that can justly hope of a union with the supreme God, that doth not come as near to him in this life in vertue and goodness as he can, so that if human frailty do interrupt this union by committing faults that make him incapable of his everlasting happiness, it will be fit by a serious repentance to expiate and emaculate those faults, and for the rest trust to the mercy of God his creator, redeemer, and preserver, who being our father and knowing well in what a weak condition through infirmities we are, will I doubt not commiserate those transgressions we commit when they are done without desire to offend his divine majesty, and together rectifie our understanding through his grace, since we commonly sin through no other cause, but that we mistook a true good for that which was only apparent, and so were deceived by making an undue election in the objects proposed to us, wherein tho' it will be fit for every man to confess that he hath offended an infinite majesty and power, yet as upon better consideration he finds he did not mean infinitely to offend, there will be just reason to believe that God will not inflict an infinite punishment

upon him if he be truly penitent, so that his justice may be satisfied, if not with man's repentance yet at least with some temporal punishment here or hereafter, such as may be proportionable to the offence; tho' I cannot deny but when man wou'd infinitely offend God in a despitefull and contemptuous way, it will be but just that he suffer an infinite punishment: but as I hope none are so wicked as to sin purposely and with a high hand against the eternal majesty of God, so when they shall commit any sins out of frailty, I shall believe, either that unless they be finally impenitent, and (as they say, sold ingeniously over to sin) God's mercy will accept of their endeavours to return into a right way, and so make their peace with him by all those good means that are possible. Having thus recommended the learning of moral philosophy and practice of vertue, as the most necessary knowledge and usefull exercise of man's life, I shall observe that even in the imploying of our vertues, discretion is required, for every vertue is not promiscuously to be used, but such only as is proper for the present occasion. Therefore though a wary and discreet wisdom be most usefull where no imminent danger appears, yet where an enemy draweth his sword against you, you shall have most use of fortitude, prevention being too late, when the danger is so pressing. On the other side, there is no occasion to use your fortitude against wrongs done by women or children, or ignorant persons, that I may say nothing of those that are much your superiors, who are magistrates, &c. since you might by a discreet wisdom have declined the injury, or when it were too late to do so, you may with more equal mind support that which is done, either by authority in the one or frailty in the other. And certainly to such kind of persons forgiveness will be proper; in which kind I am confident no man of my time hath exceeded me; for tho' whensoever my honor hath been engaged, no man hath ever been more forward to hazard his life, yet where with my honor I cou'd forgive, I never used revenge, as leaving it always to God, who, the less I

punish mine enemies, will inflict\* so much the more punishment on them ; and to this forgiveness of others three considerations have especially invited me.

1. That he that cannot forgive others, breaks the bridge over which he must pass himself, for every man had need to be forgiven.

2. That when a man wants or comes short of an intire and accomplish'd vertue, our defects may be supplied this way, since the forgiving of evil deed in others amounteth to no less than vertue in us : that therefore it may be not unaptly called the paying our debts with another man's money.

3. That it is the most necessary and proper work of every man, for 'thô when I do not a just thing, or a charitable, or a wise, another man may do it for me, yet no man can forgive my enemy but myself, and these have been the chief motives for which I have been ever inclined to forgiveness ; whereof thô I have rarely found other effect than that my servants, tenants, and neighbours have thereupon more frequently offended me, yet at least I have had within me an inward peace and comfort thereby, since I can truly say, nothing ever gave my mind more ease than when I had forgiven my enemies, which freed me from many cares and perturbations, which otherwise wou'd have molested me.

And this likewise brings in another rule concerning

\* This is a very unchristian reason for pardoning our enemies, and can by no means be properly called forgiveness. Is it forgiveness to remit a punishment, on the hope of it's being doubled ? One of the most exceptionable passages in Shakespear is the horrid reflection of Hamlet, that he will not kill the king at his prayers, lest he send him to heaven,—and so am I revenged ? Such sentiments shou'd always be marked and condemned, especially in authors, who certainly do not mean to preach up malice and revenge. His lordship's other reasons are better founded, tho' still selfish. He does not appear a numane philosopher, till he owns that he continued to forgive, tho' he found that it encouraged new injuries. The beauty of virtue consists in doing right tho' to one's own prejudice.

the use of virtues, which is, that you are not to use justice where mercy is most proper, as, on the other side, a foolish pity is not to be preferr'd before that which is just and necessary for good example. So likewise liberality is not to be used where parcimony or frugality is more requisite ; as, on the other side, it will be but a sordid thing in a gentleman to spare, where expending of money wou'd acquire unto him advantage, credit, or honor ; and this rule in general ought to be practised, that the virtue requisite to the occasion is ever to be produced, as the most opportune and necessary. That therefore wisdom is the soul of all virtues, giving them as unto her members, life and motion, and so necessary in every action, that whosoever by the benefit of true wisdom makes use of the right virtue, on all emergent occasions, I dare say would never be constrain'd to have recourse to vice, whereby it appears that every virtue is not to be employed indifferently, but that only which is proper for the business in question ; among which yet, temperance seems so universally requisite, that some part of it at least will be a necessary ingredient in all human actions, since there may be an excess even in religious worship, at those times when other duties are required at our hands. After all, moral virtues are learned and directed to the service and glory of God, as the principal end and use of them.

It wou'd be fit that some time be spent in learning rhetorick or oratory, to the intent that upon all occasions you may express yourself with eloquence and grace ; for as it is not enough for a man to have a diamond unless it is polished and cut out into it's due angles, and a foyle be set underneath, whereby it may the better transmit and vibrate it's native lustre and rays ; so it will not be sufficient for a man to have a great understanding in all matters, unless the said understanding be not only polished and clear, but under-set and holpen a little with those figures, tropes, and colours which rhetorick affords, where there is use of persuasion. I can by no means yet commend an

affected eloquence, there being nothing so pedantical, or indeed that wou'd give more suspicion that the truth is not intended, than to use over-much the common forms prescribed in schools. It is well said by them, that there are two parts of eloquence necessary and recommendable; one is, to speak hard things plainly, so that when a knotty or intricate business, having no method or coherence in it's parts, shall be presented, it will be a singular part of oratory to take those parts asunder, set them together aptly, and so exhibite them to the understanding. And this part of rhetorick I much commend to every body, there being no true use of speech but to make things clear, perspicuous, and manifest, which otherwise wou'd be perplex'd, doubtfull, and obscure. X

The other part of oratory is to speak common things ingeniously or wittily, there being no little vigor and force added to words, when they are deliver'd in a neat and fine way, and somewhat out of the ordinary road, common and dull language relishing more of the clown than the gentleman. But herein also affectation must be avoided, it being better for a man by a native and clear eloquence to express himself, than by those words which may smell either of the lamp or ink-horn; so that in general one may observe that men who fortify and uphold their speeches with strong and evident reasons, have ever operated more on the minds of the auditors, than those who have made rhetorical excursions.

It will be better for a man who is doubtfull of his pay, to take an ordinary silver piece with it's due stamp upon it, than an extraordinary gilded piece which may perchance contain a baser metal under it: and prefer a well-favour'd wholesome woman, 'tho with a tawny complexjon, before a besmeared and painted face.

It is a genera' note, that a man's wit is best shewed in his answer, and his valour in his defence, that therefore as men learn in fencing how to ward all blows and thrusts, which are or can be made against him, so it

will be fitting to debate and resolve before hand what you are to say or do upon any affront given you, least otherwise you shou'd be surprized. Aristotle hath written a book of rhetoric, a work in my opinion not inferior to his best pieces, whom therefore with Cicero "de Oratore," as also Quintilian, you may read for your instruction how to speak, neither of which two yet I can think so exact in their orations but that a middle stile will be of more efficacy ; Cicero in my opinion being too long and tedious, and Quintilian too short and concise.

Having thus by moral philosophy enabled yourself to all that wisdom and goodness which is requisite to direct you in all your particular actions, it will be fit now to think how you are to behave yourself as a publick person, or member of the common wealth and kingdom wherein you live, as also to look into those principles and grounds upon which government is framed, it being manifest in nature that the wise doth easily govern the foolish, and the strong master the weak ; so that he that cou'd attain most wisdom and power, wou'd quickly rule his fellows : for proof whereof, one may observe that a king is sick during that time the physicians govern him, and in day of battle an expert general appoints the king a place in which he shall stand, which was anciently the office of the constables de France. In law also, the judge is in a sort, superiour to his king as long as he judgeth betwixt him and his people. In divinity also he, to whom the king commits the charge of his conscience, is his superiour in that particular. All which instances may sufficiently prove, that in many cases the wiser governs or commands one less wise than himself, unless a willfull obstinacy be interposed ; in which case recourse must be had to strength where obedience is necessary.

The exercises I chiefly used, and most recommend to my posterity, were riding the great horse, and fencing, in which arts I had excellent masters, English, French, and Italian ; as for dancing, I cou'd never find

leasure enough to learn it, as imploying my mind always in acquiring of some art or science more usefull; howbeit I shall wish these three exercises learned in this order;

That dancing may be learned first, as that which doth fashion the body, gives one a good presence in, and address to all companies, since it disposeth the limbs to a kind of *souplesse* (as the Frenchmen call it) and agility, in so much as they seem to have the use of their legs, arms, and bodies, more than any others, who standing stiff and stark in their postures, seem as if they were taken in their joynts, or had not the perfect use of their members. I speak not this yet as if I would have a youth never stand still in company, but only that when he hath occasion to stir, his motions may be comely and gracefull, that he may learn to know how to come in and go out of a room where company is, how to make courtesies handsomely, according to the several degrees of persons he shall encounter, how to put off and hold his hat, all which, and many other things which become men, are taught by the more accurate dancing-masters in France.

The next exercise a young man shou'd learn (but not before he is eleven or twelve years of age) is fencing; for the attaining of which, the Frenchman's rule is excellent, "*bon pied bon œil*," by which to teach men how far they may stretch out their feet when they wou'd make a thrust against their enemy, least either shou'd overstride themselves, or not striding far enough, fail to bring the point of their weapon home: the second part of his direction adviseth the scholar to keep a fixt eye upon the point of his enemy's sword, to the intent he may both put by or ward the blows and thrusts made against him, and together direct the point of his sword upon some part of his enemy, that lieth naked and open to him.

The good fencing-masters, in France especially, when they present a foyle or fleuret to their scholars, tell him it hath two parts, one of which he calleth the fort or strong, and the other the foyle or weak; with the



fort or strong, which extends from the part of the hilt next the sword, about a third part of the whole length, thereof he teacheth his scholars to defend themselves, and put by and ward the thrusts and blows of his enemy, and with the other two third parts to strike or thrust as he shall see occasion; which rule also teacheth how to strike or thrust high or low as his enemy doth, and briefly to take his measure and time upon his adversarie's motions, whereby he may both defend himself or offend his adversary, of which I have had much experiment and use both in the fleuret, or foyle, as also when I fought in good earnest with many persons at one and the same time, as will appear in the sequell of my life. And indeed I think I shall not speak vain gloriously of myself, if I say that no man understood the use of his weapon better than I did, or hath more dexterously prevailed himself thereof on all occasions; since I found no man cou'd be hurt but through some error in fencing.

I spent much time also in learning to ride the great horse, that creature being made above all others for the service of man. as giving his rider all the advantages of which he is capable, while sometimes he gives him strength, sometimes agility or motion for the overcoming of his enemy, in so much that a good rider on a good horse, is as much above himself and others, as this world can make him; the rule for gracefull riding is, that a man hold his eyes always betwixt the two ears, and his rod over the left ear of his horse, which he is to use for turning him every way, helping himself with his left foot, and rod upon the left part of his neck, to make his horse turn on the right hand, and with the right foot and help of his rod also (if needs be) to turn him on the left hand, but this is to be used rather when one would make a horse understand these motions, than when he is a ready horse, the foot and stirrup alone applied to either shoulder being sufficient, with the help of the reins, to make him turn any way: that a rider thus may have the use of his sword, or when it is requisite only to make a horse go sideways, it will

be enough to keep the reins equal in his hand, and with the flat of his leg and foot together, and a touch upon the shoulder of the horse with the stirrup to make him go sideward either way, without either advancing forward or returning backwards.

The most usefull aer as the Frenchmen term it, is *terrerr*; the *courbettes*, *cabrioës*, or, *un pas et un sault*, being fitter for horses of parade and triumph than for souldiers, yet I cannot deny but a *demivolte* with *courbêttes*, so that they be not too high, may be usefull in a fight or *meslee*, for as *Labroue* hath it in his book of horsemanship, *Monsieur de Montmorency* having a horse that was excellent in performing the *demivolte*, did with his sword strike down two adversaries from their horses in a *tournay*, where divers of the prime gallants of France did meet; for taking his time when the horse was in the height of his *courbette*, and discharging a blow, then his sword fell with such weight and force upon the two cavaliers one after another, that he struck them from their horses to the ground.

The manner of fighting a duel on horseback I was taught thus; we had each of us a reasonable stiff riding rod in our hands about the length of a sword, and so rid one against the other, he as the more expert sat still to pass me, and then to get behind me, and after to turn with his right hand upon my left side with his rod, that so he might hit me with the point thereof in the body, and he that can do this handsomely is sure to overcome his adversary, it being impossible to bring his sword about enough to defend himself or offend the assaylant; and to get this advantage, which they call in French, *gagner la crouppe*, nothing is so usefull as to make a horse to go only sideward 'till his adversary be past him, since he will by this means avoid his adversary's blow or thrust, and on a suddain get on the left hand of his adversary in the manner I formerly related: but of this art let *Labroue* and *Pluvinel*\* be

\* *Antoine de Pluvinel*, principal *Ecuyer* de Louis treize Roi de France. He published a very fine folio, in French

read, who are excellent masters in that art, of whom I must confess I learned much, 'thô to speak ingenuously my breaking two or three colts, and teaching them afterwards those aers of which they were most capable, taught me both what I was to do, and made me see mine errors, more than all their precepts.

To make a horse fit for the wars and embolden him against all terrors, these inventions are usefull: to beat a drum out of the stable first, and then give him his provender, then beat a drum in the stable by degrees, and then give him his provender upon the drum: when he is acquainted herewith sufficiently, you must shoot off a pistol out of the stable, before he hath his provender; then you may shoot off a pistol in the stable, and so by degrees bring it as near to him as you can, till he be acquainted with the pistol, likewise remembering still after every shot to give him more provender; you must also cause his groom to put on bright armour, and so to rub his heels and dress him: you must also present a sword before him in the said armour, and when you have done, give him still some more provender: lastly, his rider must bring his horse forth into the open field, where a bright armour must be fastned upon a stake, and set forth in the likeness of an armed man as much as possible, which being done, the rider must put his horse on 'till he make him not only approach the said image, but throw it down, which being done, you must be sure to give him some provender, that he may be encouraged to do the like against an adversary in battle. It will be good also that two men do hold up a cloak betwixt them in the field, and then the rider to put the horse to it 'till he leap over, which cloak also they may raise as they

and Dutch, intituled, "*Instruction du Roi en l'exercice de monter à cheval*," Paris, 1619. It consists of dialogues between the young king, the duc de Bellegarde, and himself; and is adorned with a great number of beautifull cuts by Crispin Pass, exhibiting the whole system of the manege, and with many portraits of the great and remarkable men of that court.

see occasion, when the horse is able to leap so high. You shall do well also to use your horse to swimming, which you may do either by trayling him after you at the tail of a boat, in a good river, holding him by the head at the length of the bridle, or by putting a good swimmer in a linnen waistcoat and breeches upon him.

It will be fit for a gentlemen also to learn to swim, unless he be given to cramps and convulsions; howbeit, I must confess in my own particular that I cannot swim, for as I was once in danger of drowning by learning to swim, my mother upon her blessing charged me never to learn swimming, telling me farther, that she had heard of more drowned than saved by it, which reason 'tho it did not prevail with me, yet her commandment did. It will be good also for a gentleman to learn to leap, wrestle, and vault on horseback, they being all of them qualities of great use. I do much approve likewise of shooting in the long bow, as being both a healthfull exercise, and usefull for the wars, notwithstanding all that our firemen speak against it: for, bring a hundred archers against so many musquetteers, I say, if the archer comes within his distance, he will not only make two shoots but two hits for *one*.

The exercises I do not approve of, are riding of running horses, there being much cheating in that kind; neither do I see why a brave man shou'd delight in a creature whose chief use is to help him to run away. I do not much like of hunting horses, that exercise taking up more time than can be spared from a man studious to get knowledge: it is enough therefore to know the sport if there be any in it, without making it an ordinary practice: and indeed of the two, hauking is the better, because less time is spent in it: and upon these terms also I can allow a little bowling, so that the company be choice and good.

The exercises I wholly condemn, are dicing and carding, especially if you play for any great sum of money, or spend any time in them, or use to come to

meetings or dicing-houses, where cheaters meet and cozen young gentlemen of all their money. I cou'd say much more concerning all these points of education, and particularly concerning the discreet civility which is to be observed in communication either with friends or strangers, but this work wou'd grow too big, and that many precepts conducing thereunto may be had in Guazzo "*de la Civile Conversation*" and Galeteus "*de Moribus*."

It wou'd also deserve a particular lecture, or recherche, how one ought to behave himself with children, servants, tenants, and neighbours; and I am confident that precepts in this point will be found more usefull to young gentlemen, than all the subtilities of schools: I confess I have collected many things to this purpose, which I forbear to sit down here, because (if God grant me life and health) I intend to make a little treatise concerning these points; I shall return now to the narrative of mine own history.

When I had attained the age betwixt 18 or 19 years, my mother, together with my self and wife removed up to London, where we took house and kept a greater family than became either my mother's widow's estate or such young beginners as we were, especially since six brothers and three sisters were to be provided for, my father having made either no will, or such an imperfect one, that it was not proved. My mother, 'tho she had all my father's leases and goods, which were of great value, yet she desired me to undertake that burthen of providing for my brothers and sisters, which, to gratify my mother as well as those so near me, I was voluntarily content to provide thus far as to give my six brothers thirty pounds a piece yearly during their lives, and my three sisters 1000*l.* a piece, which portions married them to those I have above-mentioned; my younger sister indeed might have been married to a far greater fortune, had not the overthwartness of some neighbours interrupted it.

About the year of our Lord 1600 I came to London, shortly after which the attempt of the earl of Essex,

related in our history followed, which I had rather were seen in the writers of that argument, than here. Not long after this, curiosity rather than ambition brought me to court: and as it was the manner of those times for all men to kneel down before the great queen Elizabeth who then reigned, I was likewise upon my knees in the presence chamber when she passed by to the chappel at Whitehall. As soon as she saw me she stopt, and swearing her usual oath demanded, who is this? Every body there present looked upon me, but no man knew me, 'till sir James Croft, a pensioner, finding the queen stayed, returned back and told who I was, and that I had married sir William Herbert of St Gillian's daughter: the queen hereupon looked attentively upon me, and swearing again her ordinary oath, said, it is a pity he was married so young, and thereupon gave her hand to kiss twice, both times gently clapping me on the cheek. I remember little more of myself, but that from that time untill king James's coming to the crown, I had a son which died shortly afterwards, and that I intended my studies seriously, the more I learnt out of my books, adding still a desire to know more.

King James being now acknowledged king, and coming towards London, I thought fit to meet his majesty at Burley near Stanford; shortly after I was made knight of the bath, with the usual ceremonies belonging to that ancient order. I cou'd tell how much my person was commended by the lords and ladies that came to see the solemnity then used, but I shall flatter my self too much if I believed it.

I must not forget yet the ancient custom, being, that some principal person was to put on the right spur of those the king had appointed to receive that dignity; the earl of Shrewsbury seeing my esquire there with my spur in his hand, voluntarily came to me and said, "Cozen, I believe you will be a good knight, and therefore I will put on your spur:" whereupon, after my most humble thanks for so great a favour, I held up my g against the wall, and he put on my spur.

There is another custom likewise, that the knights the first day wear the gown of some religious order, and the night following to be bathed; after which they take an oath never to sit in place where injustice shou'd be done, but they shall right it to the uttermost of their power; and particularly ladies and gentlewomen that shall be wronged in their honour, if they demand assistance; and many other points, not unlike the romances of Knight Errand.

The second day to wear robes of crimson taffita (in which habit I am painted in my study) and so to ride from St James's to Whitehall with our esquires before us, and the third day to wear a gown of purple sattin, upon the left sleeve whereof is fastned certain strings weaved of white silk and gold tied in a kuot, and tassells to it of the same; which all the knights are obliged to wear untill they have done something famous in arms, or 'till some lady of honour take it off, and fasten it on her sleeve, saying "I will answer he shall prove a good knight." I had not long worn this string, but a principal lady of the court, and certainly in most men's opinion the handsomest,\* took mine off, and said she wou'd pledge her honor for mine. I do not name this lady because some passages happened afterwards which obliged me to silence, 'tho nothing cou'd be justly said to her prejudice, or wrong.

Shortly after this I intended to go with Charles earl of Nottingham the lord admiral, who went to Spain to take the king's oath for confirmation of the articles of peace betwixt the two crowns; howbeit by the industry of some near me, who desired to stay me at home, I was hindred, and instead of going that voyage, was made sheriff of Montgomeryshire, concerning which I will say no more, but that I bestowed the place of under sheriff, as also other places in my gifts, freely, without either taking gift or reward; which custom

\* It is impossible perhaps at this distance of time to ascertain who this lady was, but there is no doubt of it being the same person mentioned afterwards, whom he calls the fairest of her time.

also I have observed throughout the whole course of my life; in so much that when I was ambassador in France and might have had great presents, which former ambassadors accepted, for doing lawfull courtesies to merchants and others, yet no gratuity, upon what terms soever, cou'd ever be fast'ned upon me.

This publick duty did not hinder me yet to follow my beloved studies in a country life for the most part; 'thô sometimes also I resorted to court, without yet that I had any ambition there, and much less was tainted with those corrupt delights incident to the times: for living with my wife in all conjugall loyalty for the space of about ten years after my marriage, I wholly declined the allurements and temptations whatsoever, which might incline me to violate my marriage bed.

About the year 1608 my two daughters, called Beatrice and Florance, who lived not yet long after, and one son Richard being born, and come to so much maturity, that 'thô in their meer childhood they gave no little hopes of themselves for the future time, I called them all before my wife, demanding how she liked them, to which she answering, well; I demanded then whether she was willing to do so much for them as I wou'd; whereupon she replying, demanded what I meant by that, I told her that for my part I was but young for a man, and she not old for a woman, that our lives were in the hands of God, that if he pleased to call either of us away, that party which remained might marry again, and have children by some other, to which our estates might be disposed; for preventing whereof I thought fit to motion to her, that if she wou'd assure upon the son any quantity of lands from 300*l.* a year to 1000*l.* I wou'd do the like; but my wife not approving hereof, answering in these express words, that she would not draw the cradle upon her head; whereupon I desiring her to advise better upon the business, and to take some few days' respite for that purpose, she seem'd to depart from me not very well contented. About a week or ten days afterwards, I demanded again what



she thought concerning the motion I made, to which yet she said no more, but that she thought she had already answered me sufficiently to the point; I told her then that I shou'd make another motion to her, which was that in regard I was too young to go beyond sea before I married her, she now wou'd give me leave for a while to see foreign countries; howbeit if she wou'd assure her lands as I wou'd mine, in the manner above-mentioned, I wou'd never depart from her; she answered that I knew her mind before concerning that point, yet that she wou'd be sorry I went beyond sea; never the less, if I wou'd needs go, she could not help it. This, whether a licence taken or given, served my turn to prepare without delay for a journey beyond sea, that so I might satisfy that curiosity I long since had to see foreign countrys: so, that I might leave my wife so little discontented as I cou'd, I left her not only posterity to renew the family of the Herberts of St Gillian's, according to her father's desire to inherit his lands, but the rents of all the lands she brought with her, reserving mine own, partly to pay my brothers' and sisters' portions, and defraying my charges abroad. Upon which terms, though I was sorry to leave my wife, as having lived most honestly with her all this time, I thought it no such unjust ambition to attain the knowledge of foreign countries, especially since I had in great part already attained the languages, and that I intended not to spend any long time out of my country.

Before I departed yet, I left her with child of a son, christened afterwards by the name of Edward; and now coming to court, I obtained a licence to go beyond sea, taking with me for my companion Mr Aurelian Townsend, a gentleman that spoke the languages of French, Italian, and Spanish in great perfection, and a man to wait in my chamber who spoke French, two lackeys, and three horses. Coming thus to Dover, and passing the seas thence to Calais, I journied without any memorable adventure, 'till I came to Fauxbourg St Germans in Paris, where sir George Carew then

ambassador for the king lived; I was kindly receiv'd by him, and often invited to his table. Next to his house dwelt the duke of Vantadour, who had married a daughter of monsieur de Montmorency, grand constable de France; many visits being exchanged between that dutchess and the lady of our ambassador, it pleased the dutchess to invite me to her father's house, at the castle of Merlou, being about 24 miles from Paris: and here I found much welcome from that brave old \* general, who being inform'd of my name, said he knew well of what family I was, telling the first notice he had of the Herberts was at the siege of St Quintence, where my grand father with a command of foot under William earl of Pembroke was. Passing two or three days here, it happened one evening that a daughter of the dutchess of about 10 or 11 years of age, going one evening from the castle to walk in the meadows, my self with divers French gentlemen attended her and some gentlewomen that were with her; this young lady wearing a knot of ribband on her head, a French chevalier took it suddenly and fastned it to his hatband; the young lady offended herewith demands her ribband, but he refusing to restore it, the young lady addressing herself to me, said, "Monsieur, I pray get my ribband from that gentleman;" hereupon going towards him, I courteously, with my hat in my hand, desired him to do me the honor that I may deliver the lady her rib-

\* Henry de Montmorency, second son of the great constable Anne de Montmorency who was killed at the battle of St Denis 1567, and brother of duke Francis, another renowned warrior and statesman. Henry was no less distinguished in both capacities, and gained great glory at the battles of Dreux and St Denis. He was made constable by Henry the fourth, tho' he cou'd neither read or write, and died in the habit of St Francis 1614. He was father of the gallant but unfortunate duke Henry, the last of that illustrious and ancient line, who took for their motto, Dieu ayde au premier Chretien! the duchess of Vantadour, mentioned above, was Margaret, second daughter of the constable, and wife of Anne de Levi duke of Ventadour.

band or bouquet again; but he roughly answering me "Do you think I will give it you, when I have refused it to her?" I replied, "Nay then, sir, I will make you restore it by force;" whereupon, also putting on my hat and reaching at his, he to save himself ran away, and after a long course in the meadow, finding that I had almost overtaken him, he turned short, and running to the young lady was about to put the ribband on her hand, when I, seizing upon his arm, said to the young lady, "It was I that gave it." "Pardon me," quoth she, "it is he that gives it me:" I said then, "Madam, I will not contradict you, but if he dare say that I did not constrain him to give it, I will fight with him." The French gentleman answered nothing thereunto for the present, and so conducted the young lady again to the castle. The next day I desired Mr Aurelian Townsend to tell the French cavalier that either he must confess that I constrained him to restore the ribband, or fight with me; but the gentleman seeing him unwilling to accept of this challenge, went out from the place, whereupon I following him, some of the gentlemen that belonged to the constable taking notice hereof acquainted him therewith, who sending for the French cavalier, checked him well for his sauciness, in taking the ribband away from his grandchild, and afterwards bid him depart his house; and this was all that I ever heard of the gentleman, with whom I proceeded in that manner, because I thought my self obliged thereunto by the oath \* taken when I was made knight of the bath, as I formerly related upon this occasion.

I must remember also that three other times I en-

\* This oath is one remnant of a superstitious and romantic age, which an age, calling itself enlightened, still retains. The solemn service at the investiture of knights, which has not the least connection with any thing holy, is a piece of the same profane pageantry. The oath being no longer supposed to bind, it is strange mockery to invoke Heaven on so trifling an occasion. It wou'd be more strange if every knight, like the too conscientious Lord Herbert, thought himself bound to cut a man's throat every time a Miss lost her topknot!

gaged my self to challenge men to fight with me, who I conceived had injured ladies and gentlewomen, one was in defence of my cozen sir Francis Newport's daughter, who was married to John Barker of Hamon, whose younger brother and heir \*

sent him a challenge, which to this day he never answered, and wou'd have beaten him afterwards, but that I was hindered by my uncle sir Francis Newport.

I had another occasion to challenge one captain Vaughan, who I conceiv'd offered some injury to my sister the lady Jones of Abarmarlas: I sent him a challenge which he accepted, the place between us being appointed beyond Greenwich, with seconds on both sides; hereupon I coming to the King's-head in Greenwich, with intention the next morning to be in the place, I found the house beset with at least a hundred persons, partly sent by the lords of the privy counsell, who gave order to apprehend me: I hearing thereof desired my servant to bring my horses as far as he cou'd from my lodging, but yet within sight of me; which being done, and all this company coming to lay hold on me, I and my second, who was my cozen James Price of Hanachly, sallyed out of the doors, with our swords drawn, and in spite of that multitude made our way to our horses, where my servant very honestly opposing himself against those who wou'd have laid hands upon us, while we got up on horseback, was himself laid hold on by them, and evil treated; which I perceiving, rid back again, and with my sword in my hand rescued him, and afterwards seeing him get on horseback, charged them to go any where rather than to follow me; riding afterwards with my second to the place appointed, I found nobody there, which, as I heard afterwards, happened because the lords of the counsell taking notice of this difference, apprehended him, and charged him in his majesty's

\* This space is left blank, because there is certainly something wanting in the original.

name not to fight with me, since other wise I believed he wou'd not have failed.

The third that I questioned in this kind was a Scotch gentleman, who taking a ribband in the like manner from Mrs Middlemore, a maid of honor, as was done from the young lady above-mentioned, in a back room behind queen Ann's lodgings in Greenwich ; she likewise desired me to get her the said ribband, I repaired as formerly to him in a courteous manner to demand it, but he refusing as the French cavalier did, I caught him by the neck, and had almost thrown him down, when company came in and parted us ; I offer'd likewise to fight with this gentleman, and came to the place appointed by Hid -park, but this also was interrupted by order of the lords of the counsell, and I never heard more of him.

These passages thô different in time I have related here together, both for the similitude of argument, and that it may appear how strictly I held my self to my oath of knighthood ; since for the rest I can truly say, that thô I have lived in the armies and courts of the greatest princes in Christendom, yet I never had a quarrel with a man for mine own sake, so that althô in mine own nature I was ever cholerick and hasty, yet I never without occasion given, quarrelled with any body, and as little did any body attempt to give me offence, as having as clear a reputation for my courage as whosoever of my time. For my friends often I have hazarded my self, but never yet drew my sword for my own sake singly, as hateing ever the doing of injury, contenting my self only to resent them when they were offer'd me. After this digression I shall return to my history.

That brave constable in France testifying now more than formerly his regard of me, at his departure from Merlou to his fair house at Chantilly, five or six miles distant, said he left that castle to be commanded by me, as also his forests and chases which were well stored with wild boar and stag, and that I might hunt them when I pleased : he told me also that if I wou'd learn to ride the great horse, he had a stable there of

some fifty, the best and choicest as was thought in France, and that his escuyer called monsieur de Disancour nor inferior, to Pluvenel or Labrove, shou'd teach me. I did with great thankfulness accept his offer, as being very much addicted to the exercise of riding great horses; and as for hunting in his forests I told him I should use it sparingly, as being desirous to preserve his game; he commanded also his escuyer to keep a table for me, and his pages to attend me, the chief of whom was monsieur de Mennon, who, proving to be one of the best horsemen in France, keeps now an academy in Paris; and here I shall recount a little passage betwixt him and his master, that the inclination of the French at that time may appear, there being scarce any man thought worth the looking on, that had not killed some other in duell.

Mennon desiring to marry a neece of monsieur Disancour, who it was thought shou'd be his heir, was thus answered by him; "Friend, it is not time yet to marry, I will tell you what you must do; if you will be a brave man, you must first kill in single combat two or three men, then afterwards marry and ingender two or three children, or the world will neither have got nor lost by you:" of which strange counsell Disancour was no otherwise the author than as he had been an example at least of the former part, it being his fortune to have fought three or four brave duells in his time.

And now as every morning I mounted the great horse, so in the afternoons I many times went a hunting, the manner of which was this: the duke of Montmorency having given order to the tenants of the town of Merlou, and some villages adjoyning, to attend me when I went a hunting, they upon my summons usually repaired to those woods where I intended to find my game, with drums and musquets, to the number of 50 or 80, and sometimes 100 or more persons; they entering the wood on that side with that noyse, discharging their pieces and bearing their said drums, we on the other side of the said wood having placed mastiffs and grey-hounds to the number of 20 or 30,

which monsieur de Montmorency kept near his castle, expected those beasts they should force out of the wood; if stags or wild boars came forth we commonly spared them, pursuing only the wolves, which were there in great number, of which are found two sorts; the mastiff wolf, thick and short, tho' he cou'd not indeed run fast, yet wou'd fight with our dogs: the grey-hound wolf, long and swift, who many times escaped our best dogs, 'tho' when he were overtaken easily killed by us, without making much resistance: of both these sorts I killed divers with my sword, while I stayed there.

One time also it was my fortune to kill a wild boar in this manner; the boar being roused from his den fled before our dogs for a good space, but finding them press him hard turned his head against our dogs, and hurt three or four of them very dangerously, I came on horseback up to him, and with my sword thrust him twice or thrice without entring his skin, the blade being not so stiff as it shou'd be; the boar hereupon turned upon me, and much endanger'd my horse, which I perceiving rid a little out of the way, and leaving my horse with my lacky, return'd with my sword against the boar, who by this time had hurt more dogs; and here happened a pretty kind of fight, for when I thrust at the boar sometimes with my sword, which in some places I made enter, the boar wou'd run at me, whose tusks yet, by stepping a little out of the way I avoided, but he then turning upon me, the dogs came in and drew him off, so that he fell upon them, which I perceiving ran at the boar with my sword again, which made him turn upon me, but then the dogs pulled him from me again, while so relieving one another by turns, we killed the boar. At this chace monsieur Disancour and Mennon were present, as also Mr Townsend, yet so as they did endeavour rather to withdraw me from, than assist me in the danger. Of which boar some part being well seasoned and larded, I presented to my uncle sir Francis Newport in Shropshire, and found most excellent meat.

Thus having past a whole summer, partly in these

exercises, and partly in visits of the duke of Montmorency at his fair house in Chantilly, which for its extraordinary fairness and situation I shall here describe.

A little river descending from some higher grounds in a country which was almost all his own, and falling at last upon a rock in the middle of a valley, which to keep its way forwards, it must on one or other side thereof have declined. Some of the ancestors of the Montmorencys to ease the river of this labour, made divers channels through this rock to give it a free passage, dividing the rock by that means into little islands, upon which he built a great strong castle, joyned together with bridges, and sumptuously furnished with hangings of silk and gold, rare pictures and statues; all which buildings united as I formerly told, were incompassed about with water, which was paved with stone, (those which were used in the building of the house were drawn from thence.) One might see the huge carps, pike and trouts, which were kept in several divisions, gliding along the waters very easily: yet nothing in my opinion added so much to the glory of this castle as a forest adjoining close to it, and upon a level with the house; for being of a very large extent, and set thick both with tall trees and underwoods, the whole forest, which was replenished with wild boar, stag and roe-deer, was cut out into long walks every way; so that altho the dogs might follow their chace through the thickets, the huntsmen might ride along the said walks, and meet or overtake their game in some one of them, they being cut with that art, that they led to all the parts in the said forest; and here also I have hunted the wild boar divers times, both then and afterwards, when his son the duke of Montmorency succeeded him in the possession of that incomparable place.

And there I cannot but remember the direction the old constable gave me to return to his castle out of this admirable labirinth, telling me I shou'd look upon what side the'trees were roughest and hardest, which being found I might be confident that part stood north-



ward, which being observed I might easily find the east, as being on the right hand, and so guide my way home.

How much this house, together with the forest, hath been valued by great princes, may appear by two little narratives I shall here insert: Charles the fifth, the great emperor, passing, in the time of Fransoy the first, from Spain into the Low Countreys by the way of France, was entertained for some time in this house, by a duke of Montmorency who was likewise conestable de France, after he had taken this palace into his consideration with the forests adjoining, said he wou'd willingly give one of his provinces in the Low Countreys for such a place, there being as he thought no where such a situation.

Henry the fourth also was desirous of this house, and offer'd to exchange any of his houses, with much more lands than his estate thereabouts was worth; to which the duke of Montmorency made this wary answer: "Sieur, la maison est à vous, mais que je sois le concierge:" which in English sounds thus; "Sir, the house is yours, but give me leave to keep it for you."

When I had been at Merlou about some eight months' and attain'd as was thought the knowledge of horsemanship, I came to the duke of Montmorency at St Ilee,\* and after due thanks for his favours, took my leave of him to go to Paris, whereupon the good old prince embracing me and calling me son, bid me farewell, assuring me nevertheless he shou'd be glad of any occasion hereafter to testifie his love and esteem for me; telling me farther, he shou'd come to Paris himself shortly, where he hoped to see me; from hence I returned to Merlou, where I gave monsieur Disancour such a present as abundantly requited the charges of my diet, and the pains of his teaching. Being now ready to set forth, a gentleman from the duke of Montmorency came to me, and told me his master wou'd not let me go without giving me a present, which I

\* Sic orig. But it is probably a blunder of the transcriber for Chantilly.

might keep as an earnest of his affection; whereupon also a genet, for which the duke had sent expressly into Spain, and which cost him there 500 crowns, as I was told, was brought to me. The greatness of this gift, together with other courtesies receiv'd, did not a little trouble me, as not knowing then how to requite them. I wou'd have given my horses I had there, which were of great value, to him, but that I thought them too mean a present, but the duke also suspecting that I meant to do so prevented me; saying, that as I loved him, I shou'd think upon no requital, while I stay'd in France, but when I came into England, if I sent him a mare that ambled naturally, I shou'd much gratifie him; I told the messenger I shou'd strive both that way and every way else to declare my thankfulness, and so dismist the messenger with a good reward.

Coming now to Paris, through the recommendation of the lord ambassador, I was receiv'd to the house of that incomparable schollar Jsaac Cawsabon, by whose learn'd conversation I much benefitted my self, besides, I did apply my self much to know the use of my arms, and to ride the great horse, playing on the lute, and singing according to the rules of the French masters.

Sometimes also I went to the court of the French king, Henry the fourth, who upon information of me in the garden at the Tuileries, receiv'd me with all courtesie, embracing me in his arms, and holding me somewhile there. I went sometimes also to the court of queen Margaret at the Hostel, called by her name; and here I saw many balls or masks, in all which it pleased that queen publickly to place me next to her chair, not without the wonder of some, and the envy of another who was wont to have that favour. I shall recount one accident which happened while I was there.

All things being ready for the ball, and every one being in their place, and I my self next to the queen, expecting when the dancers wou'd come in, one knockt at the door somewhat louder than became, as I thought, very civil person; when he came in, I remember

there was a suddain whisper among the ladies, saying, "C'est monsieur Balagny," or 'tis monsieur Balagny; whereupon also I saw the ladies and gentlewomen one after another invite him to sit near them, and which is more, when one lady had his company awhile, another would say, "You have injoyed him long enough, I must have him now;" at which bold civility of theirs, tho' I were astonished, yet it added unto my wonder, that his person cou'd not be thought at most but ordinary handsome; his hair, which was cut very short, half grey, his doublet but of sackcloth cut to his shirt, and his breeches only of plain grey cloth; informing my self by some standers by who he was, I was told that he was one of the gallantest men in the world, as having killed eight or nine men in single fight, and that for this reason the ladies made so much of him, it being the manner of all French women to cherish gallant men, as thinking they cou'd not make so much of any else with the safety of their honor. This cavalier 'tho' his head was half grey, he had not yet attained the age of thirty years, whom I have thought fit to remember more particularly here, because of some passages that happened afterwards betwixt him and me, at the siege of Juliers, as I shall tell in it's place.

Having past thus all the winter, untill about the latter end of January, without any such memorable accident as I shall think fit to set down particularly, I took my leave of the French king, queen Margaret, and the nobles and ladies in both courts; at which time the princess of Conti desired me to carry a scarf into England, and present it to queen Ann on her part, which being accepted, my self and sir Thomas Lucy, (whose second I had been twice in France, against two cavaliers of our nation, who yet were hindered to fight with us in the field, where we attended them,) we came on our way as far as Diep in Normandy, and there took ship about the beginning of February, when so furious a storm arose, that with very great danger we were at sea all night; the master of our ship lost both the use of his compass and his reason; for not knowing whi-

ther he was carried by the tempest, all the help he had was by the lightnings, which, together with thunder, very frequently that night terrified him, yet gave the advantage sometimes to discover whether we were upon our coast, to which he thought by the course of his & we were near approached; and now towards & found our selves, by great providence of God, a view of Dover, to which the master of our ship did make. The men of Dover rising by times in the morning to see whether any ship were coming towards them, were in great numbers upon the shoar, as believing the tempest, which had thrown down barns and trees near the town, might give them the benefit of some wreck, if perchance any ship were driven thitherwards: we coming thus in extream danger straight upon the peer of Dover, which stands out in the sea, our ship was unfortunately split against it; the master said, "*Mes amies nous sommes perdus*;" or "My friends we are cast away;" when myself, who heard the ship crack against the peer, and then found by the master's words it was time for every one to save themselves, if they cou'd, got out of my cabin ('thô very sea-sick) and climbing up the mast a little way, drew my sword and flourished it; they at Dover having this sign given them adventured in a shallop of six oars to relieve us, which being come with great danger to the side of our ship, I got into it first with my sword in my hand, and called for sir Thomas Lucy, saying, that if any man offer'd to get in before him, I shou'd resist him with my sword; whereupon a faithfull servant of his taking sir Thomas Lucy out of the cabin, who was half dead of sea-sickness, put him into my arms, whom after I had receiv'd, I bid the shalop make away for shoar and the rather that I saw another shalop coming to relieve us; when a post from France, who carried letters, finding the ship still rent more and more, adventured to leap from the top of our ship into the shalop, where falling fortunately on some of the stronger tymber of the boat, and not of the planks, which he must needs have broken, and so sunk us.

had he fallen upon them, escaped together with us two, unto the land; I must confess myself, as also the seamen that were in the shalop, thought once to have killed him for this desperate attempt, but finding no harm followed, we escaped together unto the land, from whence we sent more shalops, and so made means to save both men and horses that were in the ship, which yet itself was wholly split and cast away, in so much that in pity to the master, sir Thomas Lucy and my self gave thirty pounds towards his loss, which yet was not so great as we thought, since the tide now ebbing he recover'd the broken parts of his ship.

Coming thus to London and afterwards to court, I kissed his majestie's hand, and acquainted him with some particulars concerning France. As for the present I had to deliver to her majesty from the princess of Conty, I thought fit rather to send it by one of the ladies that attended her, than to presume to demand audience of her in person: but her majesty not satisfied herewith, commanded me to attend her, and demanded divers questions of me concerning that princess and the courts in France, saying she wou'd speak more at large with me at some other time, for which purpose she commanded me to wait on her often, wishing me to advise her what present she might return back again.

Howbeit not many weeks after I return'd to my wife and family again, where I passed some time, partly in my studies, and partly riding the great horse, of which I had a stable well furnish'd; no horse yet was so dear to me as the genet I brought from France, whose love I had so gotten that he wou'd suffer none else to ride him, nor indeed any man to come near him, when I was upon him, as being in his nature a most furious horse; his true picture may be seen in the chappel chamber in my house, where I am painted riding him, and this motto by me,

*Me totum Bonitas bonum suprema*

*Reddas; me intrepidum dabo vel ipse.*

This horse, as soon as ever I came to the stable, wou'd

neigh, and when I drew nearer him wou'd lick my hand, and (when I suffer'd him) my cheek, but yet wou'd permit nobody to come near his heels at the same time. Sir Thomas Lucy wou'd have given me 200*l*. for this horse, which 'tho I wou'd not accept, yet I left the horse with him when I went to the Low Country, who not long after died. The occasion of my going thither was thus, hearing that a war about the title of Cleave, Juliers. and some other provinces betwixt the Low Country and Germany shou'd be made, by the several pretenders to it, and that the French king himself wou'd come with a great army into those parts. It was now the year of our Lord 1610, when my \*lord Shandois and myself resolved to take shipping for the Low Country, and from thence to pass to the city of Juliers, which the prince of Orange resolved to besiege: making all hast thither we found the siege newly begun; the Low Country army assisted by 4000 English under the command of sir Edward Cecil. We had not been long there, when the marsna<sup>l</sup> de Chartres instead of Henry the fourth, who was killed by that villain Ravalliac, came with a brave French army thither, in which monsieur Balagny, I formerly mention'd, was a colonel.

My lord Shandois lodged himself in the quarters where sir Horace Vere was; I went and quarter'd with sir Edward Cecil, where I was lodged next to him in a hutt I made there, going yet both by day and night to the trenches, we making our approaches to the town on one side and the French on the other. Our lines were drawn towards the point of a bulwark of the cittadel or castle, thought to be one of the best fortifications in Christiandom, and encompassed about with a deep wet ditch; we lost many men in making these approaches, the town and castle being very well provided both with great and small shot, and a garrison

\* Grey Bridges lord Chandos, made a knight of the Bath at the creation of Charles duke of York 1604; and called, for his hospitality and magnificence, the king of otswold.

in it of about 4000 men besides the burghers. Sir Edward Cecill (who was a very active general) used often, during this siege, to go in person in the night time, to try whether he cou'd catch any sentinells perdues; and for this purpose still desir'd me to accompany him, in performing whereof both of us did much hazard our selves, for the first sentinell retiring to the second, and the second to the third, three shots were commonly made at us, before we cou'd do any thing; 'thô afterwards chasing them with our swords almost home unto their guards, we had some sport in the pursuit of them.

One day sir Edward Cecill and myself coming to the approaches that monsieur de Balagny had made towards a bullwark or bastion of that city, monsieur de Balagny in the presence of sir Edward Cecill and diverse English and French captains then present, said, "Monsieur, on dit, que vous êtes un des plus braves de vòtre nation, et je suis Balagny, allons voir qui fera le mieux; they say, you are one of the bravest of your nation, and I am Balagny, let us see who will do best;" whereupon leaping suddainly out of the trenches with his sword drawn, I did in the like manner suddainly follow him, both of us in the mean while striving who shou'd be foremost, which being perceiv'd by those of the bullwark and cortine opposite to us, three or four hundred shot at least, great and small, were made against us. Our running on forwards in emulation of each other was the cause that all the shots fell betwixt us and the trench from which we sallied. When monsieur Balagny, finding such a storm of bullets, said, "Par Dieu il fait bien chaud, it is very hot here;" I answer'd briefly thus, "Vous en ires premier, autrement, je n'iray jamais; you shall go first or else I will never go;" hereupon he ran with all speed, and somewhat crouching towards the trenches, I followed after leasurably and upright, and yet came within the trenches before they on the bullwark or cortine cou'd charge again, which passage afterwards being related to the prince of Orange, he said it was a strange bra-

vado of Balagny, and that we went to an unavoydable death.

I cou'd relate diverse things of note concerning myself, during the siege, but do forbear, least I shou'd relish too much of vanity; it shall suffice that my passing over the ditch unto the wall, first of all the nations there, is set down by William Crofts master of arts, and soldier, who hath written and printed the history of the "Low Countryes."

There happened during this siege a particular quarrel betwixt me and the \*lord of Walden, eldest son to the earl of Suffolk, lord treasurer of England at that time, which I do but unwillingly relate, in regard of the great esteem I have of that noble family, howbeit to avoid misreports I have thought fit to set it down truly. That lord having been invited to a feast in sir Horace Vere's quarters, where (after the Low Country manner) there was liberal drinking, returned not long after to sir Edward Cecil's quarters, at which time, I speaking merrily to him, upon some slight occasion, he took That offence at me, which he would not have done at another time, insomuch that he came towards me in a violent manner, which I perceiving did more than half way meet him; but the company were so vigilant upon us that before any blow past we were separated; howbeit because he made towards me, I thought fit the next day to send him a challenge, telling him that if he had any thing to say to me, I wou'd meet him in such a place as no man shou'd interrupt us. Shortly after this, sir Thomas Payton came to me on his part, and told me my lord wou'd fight with me on horseback with single sword, "and," said he, "I will be his second: where is yours?" I replied, that neither his lordship nor myself brought over any great horses with us; that I knew he might much better borrow one than myself: howbeit as soon as he showed me the place,

\* Theophilus lord Howard of Walden, eldest son of Thomas earl of Suffolk, whom he succeeded in the title, and was knight of the Garter, constable of Dover-castle, and captain of the band of pensioners.



he shou'd find me there on horseback or on foot; whereupon, both of us riding together upon two geldings to the side of a wood, Payton said, he chose that place, and the time, break of day the next morning; I told him I wou'd fail neither place nor time, 'thô I knew not where to get a better horse than the nag I rid on; "and as for a second, I shall trust to your nobleness, who I know will see fair play betwixt us, 'thô you come on his side:" but he urging me again to provide a second, I told him I cou'd promise for none but myself, and that if I spoke to any of my friends in the army to this purpose, I doubted least the business might be discover'd and prevented.

He was no sooner gone from me, but night drew on, myself resolving in the mean time to rest under a fair oak all night; after this, tying my horse by the bridle unto another tree, I had not now rested two hours, when I found some fires nearer to me than I thought was possible in so solitary a place, whereupon, also having the curiosity to see the reason hereof, I got on horseback again, and had not rode very far when, by the talk of the soldiers there, I found I was in the Scotch quarter, where, finding in a stable a very fair horse of service, I desired to know whether he might be bought for any reasonable sum of money; but a soldier replying, it was their captain's, sir James Arskine's chief horse, I demanded for sir James, but the soldier answering he was not within the quarter, I demanded then for his lieutenant, whereupon the soldier courteously desired him to come to me. This lieutenant was called Montgomery, and had the reputation of a gallant man; I told him that I wou'd very fain buy a horse, and if it were possible the horse I saw but a little before; but he telling me none was to be sold there, I offer'd to leave in his hands 100 pieces, i. e. he wou'd lend me a good horse for a day or two, he to restore me the money again when I deliver'd him the horse in good plight, and did besides bring him some present as a gratuity.

The lieutenant, 'thô he did not know me, suspected

I had some private quarrel, and that I desired this horse to fight on, and thereupon told me, "Sir, whosoever you are, you seem to be a person of worth, and you shall have the best horse in the stable; and if you have a quarrel and want a second, I offer myself to serve you upon another horse, and if you will let me go along with you upon these terms, I will ask no pawn of you for the horse." I told him I wou'd use no second, and I desired him to accept one hundred pices, which I had there about me, in pawn for the horse, and he shou'd hear from me shortly again; and that 'tho I did not take his noble offer of coming along with me, I shou'd evermore rest much obliged to him; whereupon giving him my purse with the money in it, I got upon 's horse and left my nag besides with him.

Riding thus away about twelve o'clock at night to the wood from whence I came, I alighted from my horse and rested there 'till morning; the day now breaking I got on horseback, and attended the lord of Walden with his second. The first person that appeared was a footman, who, I heard afterwards, was sent by the lady of Walden, who, as soon as he saw me, ran back again with all speed; I meant once to pursue him, but that I thought it better at last to keep my place. About two hours after, sir William St Leiger, now lord president of Munster, came to me, and told me he knew the cause of my being there, and that the business was discover'd by the lord Walden's rising so early that morning, and the suspicion that he meant to fight with me, and had sir Thomas Payton with him, and that he wou'd ride to him, and that there were 30 or 40 sent after us, to hinder us from meeting; shortly after many more came to the place where I was, and told me I must not fight, and that they were sent for the same purpose, and that it was to no purpose to stay here, and thence rode to seek the lord of Walden; I layed yet two hours longer, but finding still more company came in, rode back again to the Scotch quarters, and deliver'd the horse back again, and receiv'd my money and nag from lieutenant Montgomery, and

so withdrew myself to the French quarters, 'till I did find some convenient time to send again to the lord Walden.

Being among the French, I remembered myself of the bravado of monsieur Balagny, and coming to him told him, I knew how brave a man he was, and that as he had put me to one tryall of daring, when I was last with him in his trenches, I wou'd put him to another ; saying, I heard he had a fair mistress, and that the scarf he wore was her gift, and that I wou'd maintain I had a worthier mistress than he, and that I wou'd do as much for her sake as he, or any else durst do for his ; Balagny hereupon looking merrily upon me, said, if we shall try who is the abler man to serve his mistress, let both of us get two wenches, and he that doth his business best, let him be the braver man ; and that for his part, he had no mind to fight on that quarrell ; I looking hereupon somewhat disdainfully on him, said he spoke more like a paillard than a cavalier, to which he answering nothing I rid my wayes, and afterwards went to monsieur Terant, a French gentleman that belonged to the duke of Montmorency, formerly mention'd ; who telling me he had a quarrel with another gentleman, I offered to be his second, but he saying he was provided already, I rode thence to the English quarters, attending some fitt occasion to send again to the lord Walden ; I came no sooner thither, but I found \*sir Thomas Sommerset with 11 or 12 more in the head of the English, who were then drawing forth in a body or squadron, who seeing me on horseback, with a footman only that attended me, gave me some affronting words, for my quarrelling with the lord of Walden ; whereupon I alighted, and giving my horse to my lacky, drew my sword, which he no sooner saw but he drew his, as also all the company with him, I running hereupon amongst them, put

\* He was third son of Edward earl of Worcester, lord privy seal to Q. Elizabeth and K. James. Sir Thomas was master of the horse to Q. Anne, was made a knight of the Bath in 1604, and viscount Somerset of Cassel in Ireland.

by some of their thrusts, and making towards him in particular put by a thrust of his, and had certainly run him through, but that one lieutenant Prichard, at that instant taking me by the shoulder, turned me aside; but I recovering myself again ran at him a second time, which he perceiving retired himself with the company to the tents which were near, 'tho not so fast but I, hurt one Proger, and some others also that were with him; but they being all at last got within the tents, I finding now nothing else to be done, got to my horse again, having receiv'd only a slight hurt on the outside of my ribs, and two thrusts, the one through the skirts of my doublet, and the other through my breeches, and about 18 nicks upon my sword and hilt, and so rode to the trenches before Juliers, where our soldiers were.

Not long after this, the town being now surrendered, and every body preparing to go their ways, I sent again a gentleman to the lord of Walden to offer him the meeting with my sword, but this was avoided not very handsomely by him (contrary to what sir Henry Rich, now earl of Holland, perswaded him.)

After having taken leave of his excellency sir Edward Cecill, I thought fit to return on my way homewards as far as Dusseldorp; I had been scarce two hours in my lodgings, when one lieutenant Hamilton brought a letter from sir James Areskin (who was then in town likewise) unto me, the effect whereof was, that in regard his lieutenant Montgomery had told him that I had the said James Areskin's consent for borrowing his horse, he did desire me to do one of two things, which was either to disavow the said words, which he thought in his conscience I never spake, or if I wou'd justifie them, then to appoint time and place to fight with him; having considered a while what I was to do in this case, I told lieutenant Hamilton that I thought myself bound in honour to accept the more noble part of his proposition, which was to fight with him, when yet perchance it might be easy enough for me to say that I had his horse upon other terms than was affirmed; whereupon also giving lieutenant Hamilton the length

of my sword, I told him that as soon as ever he matched it, I wou'd fight with him, wishing him farther to make haste, since I desired to end the business as speedily as cou'd be; lieutenant Hamilton hereupon returning back met in a cross street (I know not by what miraculous adventure) lieutenant Montgomery, conveying divers of the hurt and maimed soldiers at the siege of St Juliers unto that town, to be lodged and drest by the chirurgions there; Hamilton hereupon calling to Montgomery, told him the effects of his captain's letter, together with my answer, which Montgomery no sooner heard, but he replied (as Hamilton told me afterwards) I see that noble gentleman chooseth rather to fight than to contradict me; but my telling a lie must not be an occasion why either my captain or he shou'd hazard their lives: I will alight from my horse, and tell my captain presently how all that matter past; whereupon also, he relating the business about borrowing the horse, in that manner I formerly set down, which, as soon as sir James Areskin heard, he sent lieutenant Hamilton to me presently again, to tell me he was satisfied how the business past, and that he had nothing to say to me, but that he was my most humble servant, and was sorry he ever questioned me in that manner.

Some occasions detaining me in Dusseldorp, the next day lieutenant Montgomery came to me, and told me he was in danger of loosing his place, and desired me to make means to his excellency the prince of Orange that he might not be cashired, or else that he was undone; I told him that either I would keep him in his place, or take him as my companion and friend, and allow him sufficient means 'till I cou'd provide him another as good as it; which he taking very kindly, but desiring chiefly he might go with my letter to the prince of Orange, I obtained at last he shou'd be restored to his place again.

And now, taking boat, I past along the river of Rhine to the Low Countrys, where, after some stay, I went to Antwerp and Brussells, and having past some time in

the court there, went from thence to Calais, where taking ship I arrived at Dover, and so went to London; I had scarce been two days there, when the lords of the counsell sending for me, ended the difference betwixt the lord of Walden and myself. And now, if I may say it without vanity, I was in great esteem both in court and city, many of the greatest desiring my company, 'thô yet before that time I had no acquaintance with them. \* Richard earl of Dorset, to whom otherwise I was a stranger, one day invited me to Dorset-house, where, bringing me into his gallery and shewing me many pictures, he at last brought me to a frame covered with green taffita, and askt me who I thought was there; and therewithall, presently drawing the curtain, shewed me my own picture, whereupon, demanding how his lordship came to have it, he answered that he had heard so many brave things of me, that he got a copy of a picture which one Larkin a painter drew for me, the original whercof I intended before my departure to the Low Countrys for sir Thomas Lucy; but not only the earl of Dorset, but a greater person† than I will here nominate, got another copy from Larkin, and placing it afterwards in her cabinet (without that ever I knew any such thing was done) gave occasion to those that saw it after her death, of more discourse than I cou'd have wisht; and indeed I may truly say, that taking of my picture was fatal to me, for more reasons than I shall think fit to deliver.

There was a lady also, wife to sir John Ayres knight, who finding some means to get a copy of my picture from Larkin, gave it to Mr Jsaac‡ the painter in Blackfriars, and desired him to draw it in little after his

\* Richard Sackville earl of Dorset, grandson of the treasurer, and husband of the famous Anne Clifford countess of Dorset and Pembroke.

† This was certainly queen Anne, as appears from the very respectfull terms in which he speaks of her a little farther, and from other passages, when he mentions the secret and dangerous enemies he had on this account.

‡ Jsaac Oliver.

manner, which being done, she caused it to be set in gold and enamell'd, and so wore it about her neck so low that she hid it under her breasts, which I conceive coming afterwards to the knowledge of sir John Ayres, gave him more cause of jealousy than needed, had he known how innocent I was from pretending to any thing which might wrong him or his lady, since I cou'd not so much as imagine that either she had my picture, or that she bare more than ordinary affection to me ; it is true, that as she had a place in court, and attended queen Ann, and was beside of an excellent wit and discourse, she had made herself a considerable person ; howbeit, little more than common civility ever past betwixt us, 'thò I confess I think no man was welcomer to her when I came, for which I shall alledge this passage :

Coming one day into her chamber, I saw her, through the curtains, laying upon her bed with a wax candle in one hand, and the picture I formerly mention'd in the other. I coming thereupon somewhat boldly to her, she blew out the candle, and hid the picture from me ; myself thereupon being curious to know what that was she held in her hand, got the candle to be lighted again, by means whereof I found it was my picture she looked upon with more earnestness and passion than I cou'd have easily believ'd, especially since myself was not engaged in any affection towards her : I cou'd willingly have omitted this passage, but that it was the beginning of a bloody history which followed : howsoever, yet I must before the eternal God clear her honour. And now in court a great person sent for me divers times to attend her ; which summons, 'thò I obeyed, yet God knoweth I declin'd coming to her as much as conveniently I cou'd, without incurring her displeasure ; and this I did not only for very honest reasons, but to speak ingenuously, because that affliction passed betwixt me and another lady (who I believe was the fairest of her time) as nothing cou'd divert it. I had not been long in London, when a violent burning fever seized upon me, which brought me almost to my death. 'thò at last

I did by slow degrees recover my health; being thus upon my amendment, the lord Lisle,\* afterwards earl of Leicester, sent me word that sir John Ayres intended to kill me in my bed, and wisht me to keep a guard upon my chamber and person; the same advertisement was confirm'd by Lucy countess of Bedford,† and the lady Hobby‡ shortly after. Hereupon I thought fit to intreat sir William Herbert, now lord Powis, to go to sir John Ayres, and tell him that I marvelled much at the information given me by these great persons, and that I cou'd not imagine any sufficient ground hereof; howbeit, if he had any thing to say to me in a fair and noble way, I wou'd give him the meeting as soon as I had got strength enough to stand upon my legs; sir William hereupon brought me so ambiguous and doubtfull an answer from him, that, whatsoever he meant, he wou'd not declare yet his intention, which was really, as I found afterwards, to kill me any way that he cou'd, since, as he said, 'thô falsely, I had \*\*\*\*\* his wife. Finding no means thus to surprize me, he sent me a letter to this effect; that he desir'd to meet me somewhere, and that it might so fall out as I might return quietly again. To this I replied, that if he desired to fight with me upon equal terms, I shou'd, upon assurance of the field and fair play, give him meeting when he did any way specifie the cause, and that I did not think fit to come to him upon any other terms, having been sufficiently informed of his plots to assassinate me.

After this, finding he cou'd take no advantage against me, then in a treacherous way he resolv'd to assassinate me in this manner: hearing I was to come to Whitehall on horseback with two lackies only, he attended my coming back in a place called Scotland-yard, at the

\* Robert Sidney, earl of Leicester, younger brother of sir Philip Sidney.

† Lucy Harrington, wife of Edward Earl of Bedford, a great patroness of the wits and poets of that age.

‡ Probably Anne, second wife of sir Edward Hobby, a patron of Camden



hither end of Whitehall, as you come to it from the Strand, hiding himself here with four men armed on purpose to kill me. I took horse at Whitehall-gate, and passing by that place, he being armed with a sword and dagger, without giving me so much as the least warning, ran at me furiously, but instead of me wounded my horse in the brisket, as far as his sword cou'd enter for the bone ; my horse hereupon starting aside, he ran him again in the shoulder, which, tho' it made the horse more timorous, yet gave me time to draw my sword ; his men thereupon encompassed me, and wounded my horse in three places more ; this made my horse kick and fling in that manner as his men durst not come near me, which advantage I took to strike at sir John Ayres with all my force, but he warded the blow both with his sword and dagger : instead of doing him harm, I broke my sword within a foot of the hilt ; hereupon, some passenger that knew me, and observing my horse bleeding in so many places, and so many men assaulting me, and my sword broken, cried to me several times, " Ride away, ride away ;" but I scorning a base flight, upon what terms soever, instead thereof alighted as well as I cou'd from my horse ; I had no sooner put one foot upon the ground, but sir John Ayres pursuing me, made at my horse again, which the horse perceiving, pressed on me on the side I alighted, in that manner that he threw me down, so that I remained flat upon the ground, only one foot hanging in the stirrop, with that piece of a sword in my right hand ; sir John Ayres hereupon ran about the horse, and was thrusting his sword into me, when I finding myself in this danger, did with both my arms reaching at his legs pull them towards me, 'till he fell down backwards on his head ; one of my footmen hereupon, who was a little Shropshire boy, freed my foot out of the stirrop, the other, which was a great fellow, having ran away as soon as he saw the first assault ; this gave me time to get upon my legs, and to put myself in the best posture I cou'd with that poor remnant of a weapon : sir John Ayres by this time likewise was got up, standing betwixt me

and some part of Whitehall, with two men on each side of him, and his brother behind him, with at least twenty or thirty persons of his friends or attendants of the earl of Suffolk; observing thus a body of men standing in opposition against me, 'tho' to speak truly I saw no swords drawn but by sir John Ayres and his men, I ran violently against sir John Ayres, but he knowing my sword had no point, held his sword and dagger over his head, as believing I cou'd strike rather than thrust, which I no sooner perceiv'd but I put a home thrust to the middle of his breast, that I threw him down with so much force, that his head fell first to the ground, and his heels upwards; his men hereupon assaulted me, when one Mr Mansel, a Glamorganshire gentleman, finding so many set against me alone, closed with one of them, a Scotch gentleman also closing with another, took him off also; all I cou'd well do to those two which remained, was to ward their thrusts, which I did with that resolution that I got ground upon them. Sir John Ayres was now got up a third time, when I making towards him with intention to close, thinking that there was otherwise no safety for me, put by a thrust of his with my left hand, and so coming within him, receiv'd a stab with his dagger on my right side, which ran down my ribs as far as my hip, which I feeling, did with my right elbow force his hand, together with the hilt of the dagger so near the upper part of my right side, that I made him leave hold. The dagger now sticking in me, sir Henry Cary, afterwards lord of Faulkland and lord deputy of Ireland, finding the dagger thus in my body, snatcht it out; this while I being closed with sir John Ayres, hurt him on the head, and threw him down a third time, when kneeling on the ground and bestriding him, I struck at him as hard as I cou'd with my piece of a sword, and wounded him in four several places, and did almost cut off his left hand; his two men this while struck at me, but it pleased God even miraculously to defend me, for when I lifted up my sword to strike at sir John Ayres, I bore off their blows half a dozen times; his friends now

finding him in this danger took him by the head and shoulders, and drew him from betwixt my legs, and carrying him along with them through Whitehall, at the stairs whereof he took boat. Sir Herbert Croft (as he told me afterwards) met him upon the water vomiting all the way, which I believe was caused by the violence of the first thrust I gave him; his servants, brother, and friends being now retir'd also, I remained master of the place and his weapons, having first wrested his dagger from him, and afterwards struck his sword out of his hand.

This being done, I retired to a friend's house in the Strand, where I sent for a surgeon, who, searching my wound on the right side, and finding it not to be mortal, cured me in the space of some ten days, during which time I receiv'd many noble visits and messages from some of the best in the kingdom. Being now fully recover'd of my hurts, I desired sir Robert Harley\* to go to sir John Ayres, and tell him, that 'tho I thought he had not so much honour left in him, that I cou'd be any way ambitious to get it, yet that I desired to see him in the field with his sword in his hand; the answer that he sent me was, that I had \*\*\*\*\* his wife, and that he wou'd kill me with a musket out of a window.

The lords of the privy counsell, who had first sent for my sword, that they might see the little fragment of a weapon with which I had so behaved myself, as perchance the like had not been heard in any credible way, did afterwards command both him and me to appear before them; but I absenting myself on purpose, sent one Humphrey Hill with a challenge to him in an ordinary, which he refusing to receive, Humphrey Hill put it upon the point of his sword, and so let it fall before him, and the company then present.

The lords of the privy counsell had now taken order to apprehend sir John Ayres, when I finding nothing else to be done, submitted myself likewise to them. Sir John Ayres had now published every where, that the

\* Knight of the Bath and master of the mint.

ground of his jealousy, and consequently of his assaulting me, was drawn from the confession of his wife the lady Ayres. She, to vindicate her honour, as well as free me from this accusation, sent a letter to her aunt the lady Crook, to this purpose: that her husband sir John Ayres did lie falsely, in saying that I ever \*\*\*\*\* her, but most falsely of all did lie when he said he had it from her confession, for she had never said any such thing.

This letter the lady Crook presented to me most opportunely, as I was going to the counsell table before the lords, who, having examined sir John Ayres concerning the cause of his quarrel against me, found him still persist on his wife's confession of the fact; and now, he being withdrawn, I was sent for, when the duke of Lenox,\* afterwards of Richmond, telling me that was the ground of his quarrel, and the only excuse he had for assaulting me in that manner; I desired his lordship to peruse the letter, which I told him was given me as I came into the room; this letter being publicly read by a clerk of the counsel, the duke of Lenox then said, that he thought sir John Ayres the most miserable man living, for his wife had not only given him the lie, as he found by her letter, but his father had disinherited him for attempting to kill me in that barbarous fashion, which was most true, as I found afterwards. For the rest, that I might content myself with what I had done, it being more almost than cou'd be believed, but that I had so many witnesses thereof; for all which reasons he commanded me, in the name of his majesty, and all their lordships, not to send any more to sir John Ayres, nor to receive any message from him, in the way of fighting, which commandment I observed: howbeit, I must not omit to tell, that some years afterwards sir John Ayres returning from Ireland, by Beaumaris, where I then was, some of my servants and followers broke open the doors of the house where he was, and wou'd (I believe) have cut him into pieces, but that I

\* Lodowic Stuart duke of Lenox and Richmond was lord steward of the household and knight of the garter.

hearing thereof came suddenly to the house and recalled them, sending him word also, that I scorned to give him the usage he gave me, and that I would set him free of the town, which courtesie of mine (as I was told afterwards) he did thankfully acknowledge.

About a month after that sir John Ayres attempted to assassinate me, the news thereof was carried (I know not how) to the duke of Montmorency, who presently dispatcht a gentleman with a letter to me, (which I keep,) and a kind offer, that if I would come unto him, I should be used as his own son; neither had this gentleman (as I know of) any other business in England; I was told besides by this gentleman, that the duke heard I had greater and more enemies than did publickly declare themselves (which indeed was true) and that he doubted I might have a mischief before I was aware.

My answer hereunto by letter was, that I render'd most humble thanks for his great favor in sending to me; that no enemies how great or many soever could force me out of the kingdome; but if ever there were occasion to serve him in particular, I should not fail to come; for performance whereof, it hap'ning there were some overtures of a civil war in France the next year, I sent over a French gentleman, who attended me, unto the duke of Montmorency, expressly to tell him, that if he had occasion to use my service in the designed war, I would bring over one hundred horse at my own cost and charges to him; which that good old duke and constable took so kindly, that (as the dutchess of Antedor\* his daughter told me afterwards, when I was ambassador) there were few days 'till the last of his life that he did not speak of me with much affection.

I can say little more memorable concerning myself from the year 1611, when I was hurt, untill the year of our Lord 1614, than that I past my time sometimes in the court, where (I protest before God) I had more favors than I desired, and sometimes in the country,

without any memorable accident; but only that it happened one time going from St Gillian's to Abergavenny, in the way to Montgomery castle, Richard Griffiths, a servant of mine, being come near a bridge over Husk not far from the town, thought fit to water his horse, but the river being deep and strong in that place where he ent'red it, he was carried down the stream; my servants that were before me seeing this, cried aloud Dick Griffiths was drowning, which I no sooner heard, but I put spurs to my horse, and coming up the place, where I saw him as high as his middle in water, leapt into the river a little below him, and swimming up to him bore him up with one of my hands, and brought him into the middle of the river, where (through God's great providence) was a bank of sand; coming hither, not without some difficulty, we rested ourselves, and advised whether it were better to return back unto the side from whence we came, or to go on forwards; but Dick Griffiths saying we were sure to swim if we returned back, and that perchance the river might be shallow the other way, I followed his counsell and putting my horse below him, bore him up in the manner I did formerly, and swimming through the river, brought him safe to the other side. The horse I rode upon I remember cost me 40*l.* and was the same horse which sir John Ayres hurt under me, and did swim exceedingly well, carrying me and his back above water; whereas, that little nag upon which Richard Griffiths rid swam so low, that he must needs have drowned, if I had not supported him.

I will tell one history more of this horse, which I bought of my couzen Fowler of the grange, because it is memorable; I was passing over a bridge not far from Colebrook which had no barrier on the one side, and a hole in the bridge not far from the middle, my horse 'tho' lusty yet being very timorous, and seeing besides but very little on the right eye, started so much at the hole, that upon a suddain he had put half his body lengthwise over the side of the bridge, and was ready to fall into the river, with his fore-foot and hinder

foot on the right side, when I, foreseeing the danger I was in if I fell down, clapt my left foot together with the stirrop and spurr flat-long to the left side, and so made him leap upon all four into the river, whence after some three or four plunges he brought me to land.

The year 1614 was now ent'ring, when I understood that the Low Country and Spanish army wou'd be in the field that year; this made me resolve to offer my service to the prince of Orange, who upon my coming did much wellcome me, not suffering me almost to eat any where but at his table, and carrying me abroad the afternoon in his coach, to partake of those entertainments he delighted in when there was no pressing occasion. The Low Country army being now ready, his excellency prepared to go into the field; in the way to which he took me in his coach, and sometimes in a waggon after the Low Country fashion, to the great envy of the English and French chief commanders who expected that honor. Being now arrived near Emerick, one with a most humble petition came from a monastery of nuns, most humbly desiring that the soldiers might not violate their honor nor their monastery, whereupon I was a most humble suitor to his excellency to spare them, which he granted; "but," said he, "we will go and see them ourselves;" and thus his excellency, and I and sir Charles Morgan only, not long after going to the monastery, found it deserted in great part. Having put a guard upon this monastery, his excellency marched with his army on 'till we came near the city of Emerick, which, upon summoning, yielded; and now leaving a garrison here, we resolved to march beyond Rice;\* this place having the Spanish army under the command of Monsieur Spinola on the one side, and the Low Country army on the other, being able to resist neither, sent word to both armies, that which soever came first shou'd have the place. Spinola hereupon sent word to his excellency, that if we intended to take Rice, he wou'd give him battle,

\* Rees, in the Duchy of Cleve near Emerick.

in a plain near before the town. His excellency nothing astonished hereat, marched on, his pioneers making his way for the army still, through hedges and ditches, 'till he came to that hedge and ditch which was next the plain; and here, drawing his men into battle, resolved to attend the coming of Spinola into the field; while his men were putting in order, I was so desirous to see whether Spinola with his army appeared, I leapt over a great hedge and ditch, attended only with one footman, purposing to change a pistol-shot or two with the first I met; I found thus some single horse in the field, who, perceiving me to come on, rid away as fast as they cou'd, believing perchance that more wou'd follow me; having thus passed to the further end of the field, and finding no show of the enemy, I returned back that I might inform his excellency there was no hope of fighting as I cou'd perceive. In the mean time his excellency, having prepared all things for battle, sent out five or six scouts to discover whether the enemy were come according to promise; these men finding me now coming towards them, thought I was one of the enemies, which being perceiv'd by me, and I as little knowing at that time who they were, rode up with my sword in my hand, and pistol, to encounter them; and now being come within reasonable distance, one of the persons there that knew me told his fellows who I was, whereupon I passed quietly to his excellency and told him what I had done, and that I found no appearance of an army: his excellency then caused the hedge and ditch before him to be levelled, and marched in front with his army into the middle of the field, from whence, sending some of his forces to summon the town, it yielded without resistance.

Our army made that haste to come to the place appointed for the battle, that all our baggage and provision were left behind, in so much that I was without any meat, but what my footman spared me out of his pocket; and my lodging that night was no better, for extream rain falling at that time in the open field, I had no shelter, but was glad to get on the top of a



waggon which had straw in it, and to cover myself with my cloak as well as I cou'd, and so endure that stormy night. Morning being come, and no enemy appearing, I went to the town of Rice, into which his excellency having now put a garrison, marched on with the rest of his army towards Wezel, before which Spinola with his army lay, and in the way intrenched himself strongly, and attended Spinola's motions. For the rest, nothing memorable happ'ned after this, betwixt those two great generals, for the space of many weeks.

I must yet not omit with thankfulness to remember a favor his excellency did me at this time : for a soldier having killed his fellow soldier, in the quarter where they were lodged, which is an unpardonable fault, in so much that no man wou'd speak for him, the poor fellow comes to me and desires me to beg his life of his excellency, whereupon I demanding whether he had ever heard of a man pardon'd in this kind, and he saying no, I told him it was in vain then for me to speak ; when the poor fellow writhing his neck a little, said, " Sir, but were it not better you shall cast away a few words, than I loose my life ? " this piece of eloquence moved me so much that I went streight to his excellency, and told him what the poor fellow had said, desiring him to excuse me, if upon these terms I took the boldness to speak for him. There was present at that time the earl of Southampton,\* as also sir Edward Cecill, and sir Horace Vere, as also Monsieur de Chastillon, and divers other French commanders ; to whom his excellency, turning himself, said in French, " Do you see this cavalier ? with all that courage you know, hath yet that good nature to pray for the life of a poor soldier : 'tho I had never pardon'd any before in this kind, yet I will pardon this at his request : " so commanding him to be brought me, and disposed of

\* Henry Wriothesley, third earl of Southampton. He had been attainted with the earl of Essex, but was restored by king James and made knight of the garter.

as I thought fit, whom therefore I released and set free.

It was now so far advanced in Autumn, both armies thought of retiring themselves into their garrisons, when a trumpeter comes from the Spanish army to ours, with a challenge from a Spanish cavalier to this effect, that if any cavalier in our army wou'd fight a single combat for the sake of his mistress, the said Spaniard wou'd meet him, upon assurance of the camp in our army. This challenge being brought early in the morning was accepted by nobody 'till about 10 or 11 of the clock, when the report thereof coming to me, I went streight to his excellency, and told him I desir'd to accept the challenge. His excellency thereupon looking earnestly upon me, told me he was an old soldier, and that he had observed two sorts of men who used to send challenges in this kind; one was, of those who having lost perchance some part of their honor in the field against the enemy, wou'd recover it again by a single fight. The other was, of those who sent it only to discover whether our army had in it men affected to give trial of themselves in this kind; howbeit, if this man was a person without exception to be taken against him, he said there was none he knew upon whom he wou'd sooner venture the honor of his army than myself; and this also he spoke before divers of the English and French commanders I formerly nominated. Hereupon, by his excellency's permission, I sent a trumpet to the Spanish army with this answer, that if the person who wou'd be sent were a cavalier without reproach, I wou'd answer him with such weapons as we shou'd agree upon, in the place he offer'd; but my trumpeter was scarcely arrived, as I believe, at the Spanish army, when another trumpeter came to ours from Spinola, saying the challenge was made without his consent, and that therefore he wou'd not permit it. This message being brought to his excellency, with whom I then was, he said to me presently, this is strange; they send a challenge hither, and when they have done, recall it. I should be glad if I knew the true causes

of it. "Sir," said I, "if you will give me leave, I will go to their army and make the like challenge, as they sent hither; it may be some scruple is made concerning the place appointed, being in your excellency's camp, and therefore I shall offer them the combat in their own:" his excellency said, "I shou'd never have persuaded you to this course, but since you voluntarily offer it, I must not deny that which you think to be for your honor." Hereupon, taking my leave of him, and desiring sir Humphrey Tufton,\* a brave gentleman, to bare me company, thus we two, attended only with two lackies, rod streight towards the Spanish camp before Wezel; coming thither without any disturbance, by the way, I was demanded by the guard at the ent'ring into their camp, with whom I wou'd speak, I told them with the duke of Newbourg, whereupon a soldier was presently sent with us to conduct us to the duke of Newbourg's tent, who rememb'ring me well, since he saw me at the seige of Juliers, very kindly embraced me; and therewithall demanding the cause of my coming thither, I told him the effect thereof in the manner I formerly set down; to which he rep'ied only, he wou'd acquaint the marquis Spinola therewith; who coming shortly after to the duke of Newbourg's tent, with a great train of commanders and captains following him, he no sooner ent'red, but he turned to me and said, that he knew well the cause of my coming, and that the same reasons which made him forbid the Spanish cavalier to fight a combat in the prince of Orange's camp, did make him forbid it in his, and that I shou'd be better welcome to him than I wou'd be, and thereupon intreated me to come and dine with him; I, finding nothing else to be done, did kindly accept the offer, and so attended him to his tent, where a brave dinner being put upon his table, he placed the duke of Newbourg uppermost at one end of the table, and myself at the other, himself setting below us, presenting with his own hand still the best of that meat his

\* Third son of sir John Tufton, and brother of Nicholas earl of Thanet.

carver offer'd him : he demanded of me then in Italian, "Di che moriva Sigr. Francisco Vere? Of what died sir Francis Vere?" I told him, "Per aver niente à fare ; Because he had nothing to do;" Spinola replied, "E basta per un Generale ; And it is enough to kill a general;" and indeed that brave commander, sir Francis Vere, died not in time of war but of peace.

Taking my leave now of the marquis Spinola, I told him, that if ever he did lead an army against the infidels, I should adventure to be the first man that wou'd die in that quarrel, and together demanded leave of him to see his army, which he granting, I took leave of him, and did at leisure view it ; observing the difference in the proceedings betwixt the Low Country army and fortifications as well as I cou'd ; and so returning shortly after to his excellency related to him the success of my journey. It happened about this time that sir Henry Wotton mediated a peace by the king's command, who, coming for that purpose to Wezel, I took occasion to go along with him into Spinola's army, whence, after a night's stay, I went on an extream rainy day through the woods to Kysarswert, to the great wonder of mine host, who said all men were robbed or killed that went that way : from hence I went to Cullin,\* where among other things I saw the monastery of St. Herbert ; from hence I went to Hydelberg, where I saw the prince and princess Palatine, from whom, having received much good usage, I went to Ulme, and so to Augsbourg, where extraordinary honor was done me, for coming into an inn where an ambassador from Brussels lay, the town sent twenty great flaggons of wine thither, whereof they gave eleven to the ambassador, and nine to me : and withall some such compliments that I found my fame had prevented† my coming thither. From hence I went through Switzerland to Trent, and from thence to Venice, where I was received by the English ambas-

\* Cologne.

† "Prevented," in modern acceptation, "preceded."

sador, sir Dudley Carlton,\* with much honor; among other favors shewed me, I was brought to see a nun in Murano, who being an admirable beauty, and together singing extremely well, who was thought one of the rarities not only of that place but of the time. We came to a room opposite unto the cloyster, whence she coming on the other side of the grate betwixt us, sung so extremely well, that when she departed, neither my lord ambassador nor his lady, who were then present, cou'd find as much as a word of fitting language to return her, for the extraordinary musick she gave us; when I, being ashamed that she shou'd go back without some testimony of the sense we had, both of the harmony of her beauty and her voice, said in Italian, "*Moria pur quando vuol, non bisogna mutar ni voce ni faccia per esser un angelo; Die whensoever you will, you neither need to change voice nor face to be an angel:*" these words it seemed were fatal, for going thence to Rome, and returning shortly afterwards, I heard she was dead in the mean time.

From Venice after some stay I went to Florence, where I met the † earl of Oxford and ‡ sir Benjamin Rudier: having seen the rarities of this place likewise, and particularly that rare chappel made for the house of Medici, beautified on all the inside with a courser kind of precious stone, as also that nail which was at one end iron, and the other gold, made so by vertue of a tincture into which it was put. I went to Siena, and from thence, a little before the Christmas holidays, to Rome. I was no sooner alighted at my inn, but I

\* Ambassador to Venice, Savoy, and Holland, secretary of state, and viscount Dorchester.

† Henry Vere earl of Oxford. He died at the Hague in 1625, of a sickness contracted at the siege of Breda, where, being a very corpulent man, he had overheated himself.

‡ Sir Benjamin Rudyard was a man in great vogue, in that age, a wit, and poet, and intimate friend of William earl of Pembroke, with whose poems sir Benjamin's are printed.

went streight to the English colledge, where, demanding for the regent or master thereof, a grave person not long after appeared at the door, to whom I spake in this manner: "Sir, I need not tell you my country when you hear my language; I come not here to study controversies, but to see the antiquities of the place; if without scandal to the religion in which I was born and bred up, I may take this liberty, I shou'd be glad to spend some convenient time here; if not, my horse is yet unsaddled, and myself willing to go out of the town." The answer returned by him to me was, that he never heard any body before me profess himself of any other religion than what was used in Rome; for his part, he approved much my freedom, as collecting thereby I was a person of honor; for the rest, that he cou'd give me no warrant for my stay there, howbeit that experience did teach, that those men who gave no affronts to the Roman Catholick religion receiv'd none; whereupon also he demanded my name, I telling him I was called sir Edward Herbert, he replied, that he had heard men oftentimes speak of me both for learning and courage, and presently invited me to dinner; I told him that I took his courteous offer as an argument of his affection; that I desired him to excuse me, if I did not accept it; the uttermost liberty I had (as the times then were in England) being already taken in coming to that city only, least they shou'd think me a factious person; I thought fit to tell him, that I conceiv'd the points agreed upon on both sides are greater bonds of anity betwixt us, than that the points disagreed on cou'd break them; that for my part, I loved every body that was of a pious and vertuous life, and thought the errors on what side soever, were more worthy pity than hate; and having declared myself thus far, I took my leave of him courteously, and spent about a month's time in seeing the antiquities of that place, which first found means to establish so great an empire over the persons of men, and afterwards over their consciences: the articles of confession and absolving sinners being a greater Arcanum Imperii for

governing the world, than all the arts invented by statists formerly were.

After I had seen Rome sufficiently, I went to Tivoli, anciently called Tibur, and saw the fair palacé and garden there, as also Frascati, anciently called Tusculanum; after that, I returned to Rome, and saw the Pope in consistory, which being done, when the Pope being now ready to give his blessing, I departed thence suddainly, which gave such a suspicion of me, that some were sent to apprehend me, but I going a bye way escaped them, and went to my inn to take horse, where I had not been now half an hour, when the master or regent of the English colledge telling me that I was accused in the inquisition, and that I cou'd stay no longer with any safety, I took this warning very kindly; howbeit, I did only for the present change my lodging, and a day or two afterwards took horse and went out of Rome towards Siena, and from thence to Florence: I saw \*sir Robert Dudley, who had the title of earl or duke of Northumberland given him by the emperor, and handsom Mrs Sudel, whom he carried with him out of England, and was there taken for his wife. I was invited by them to a great feast the night before I went out of town; taking my leave of them both, I prepared for my journey the next morning. When I was ready to depart, a messenger came to me, and told me if I wou'd accept the same pension sir Robert Dudley had, being two thousand duckets per annum, the duke wou'd entertain me for his service in the war against the Turks: this offer, whether procured by the means of sir Robert Dudley, Mrs Sudel, or sigr. Loty my ancient friend, I know not, being thankfully acknowledged as a great honor, was yet refused by me, my intention being to serve his excellency in the Low Country war.

\* See an account of this extraordinary person in the catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii. Hand some Mrs Sudel was Mrs Southwell, daughter of sir Robert Southwell, who had followed sir Robert Dudley from England, under the disguise of a page.

After I had stayed a while, from hence I went by Ferrara and Bologna towards Padua, in which university having spent some time to hear the learned readers, and particularly Cremonini, I left my English horses and Scotch saddles there, for on them I rid all the way from the Low Countries, I went by boat to Venice : the lord ambassador, sir Dudley Carleton, by this time had a command to reside a while in the court of the duke of Savoy, wherewith also his lordship acquainted me, demanding whether I wou'd go thither ; this offer was gladly accepted by me, both as I was desirous to see that court, and that it was in the way to the Low Country, where I meant to see the war the summer ensuing.

Coming thus in the coach with my lord ambassador to Milan, the governor thereof invited my lord ambassador to his house, and sometimes feasted him during his stay there : here I heard that famous nun singing to the organ in this manner, another nun beginning first to sing, performed her part so well, that we gave her much applause for her excellent art and voice ; only we thought she did sing somewhat lower than other women usually did ; hereupon also being ready to depart we heard suddainly, for we saw no body, that nun which was so famous, sing an eight higher than the other had done ; her voice was the sweetest, strongest, and clearest, that ever I heard, in the using whereof also she shew'd that art, as ravish'd us into admiration.

From Milan we went to Novara, as I remember, where we were entertained by the governor, being a Spaniard, with one of the most sumptuous feasts that ever I saw, being but of nine dishes, in three several services ; the first whereof was, three ollas podridas consisting of all choice boild meats, placed in three large silver chargers, which took up the length of a great table ; the meat in it being heightened up artificially, pyramid wise, to a sparrow, which was on the top : the second service was like the former, of roast meat, in which all manner of fowle, from the pheasant



and partridge, to other fowl less than them, were heightened up to a lark : the third was in sweet-meats dry of all sorts, heightened in like manner to a round comfit.

From hence we went to Vercelly, a town of the duke of Savoy's, frontier to the Spaniard, with whom the duke was then in war ; from whence, passing by places of least note, we came to Turin, where the duke of Savoy's court was. After I had refreshed myself here some two or three days, I took leave of my lord ambassador with intention to go to the Low Countreys, and was now upon the way thither, as far as the foot of mount Cenis, when the count Scarnafigi came to me from the duke,\* and brought a letter to this effect ; that the duke had heard I was a cavalier of great worth, and desirous to see the wars, and that if I would serve him I shou'd make my own conditions : finding so courteous an invitation I returned back, and was lodged by the duke of Savoy, in a chamber furnished with silk and gold hangings, and a very rich bed, and defrayed at the duke's charges, in the English ambassador's house. The duke also confirm'd unto me what the count Scarnafigi had said, and together bestowed divers compliments on me. I told his highness that when I knew in what service he pleased to imploy me, he shou'd find me ready to testify the sense I had of his princely invitation.

It was now in the time of Carneval, when the duke, who loved the company of ladies and dancing as much as any prince whosoever, made divers masks and balls, in which his own daughters among divers other ladies danced ; and here it was his manner to place me always with his own hand near some fair lady, wishing us both to entertain each other with some discourse, which was a great favour among the Italians ; he did many other ways also declare the great esteem he had of me without coming to any particular, the time of the year for going into the field being not yet come ;

• Charles Emanuel.

only he exercised his men often, and made them ready for his occasions in the spring.

The duke at last resolving how to use my service, thought fit to send me to Languedoc in France, to conduct 4000 men of the reform'd religion (who had promised their assistance in his war) unto Piedmont. I willingly accepted this offer; so taking my leave of the duke, and bestowing about 70*l.* or 80*l.* among his officers, for the kind entertainment I had receiv'd, I took my leave also of my lord ambassador, and sir Albertus Moreton, who was likewise employed there, and prepared for my journey, for more expedition of which, I was desired to go post. An old Scotch knight of the Sandelands hearing this, desir'd to borrow my horses as far as Heydelberg, which I granted on condition that he wou'd use them well by the way, and give them good keeping in that place afterwards.

The count Scarnafigi was commanded to bear me company in this journey, and to carry with him some jewels, which he was to pawn in Lyons in France, and with the money gotten for them to pay the soldiers above nominated; for 'thô the duke had put extream taxations on his people, in somuch that they paid not only a certain sum for every horse, ox, cow, or sheep that they kept, but afterwards for every chimney; and finally every single person by the pole, which amounted to a pistole, or 14*s.* a head or person, yet he wanted money: at which I did not so much wonder as at the patience of his subjects; of whom I demanded how they cou'd bear their taxations? I have heard some of them answer, we are not so much offended with the duke for what he takes from us, as thankfull for what he leaves us.

The count Scarnafigi and I, now setting forth, rid post all day without eating or drinking by the way, the count telling me 'still we shou'd come to a good inn at night. It was now twilight when the count and I came near a solitary inn, on the top of a mountain; the hostess hearing the noise of horses came out, with a child new born on her left arm, and a rush candle in

her hand, she presently knowing the count de Scarnafigi, told him, "Ah, sigr. you are come in a very ill time, the duke's soldiers have been here to-day, and have left me nothing." I looked sadly upon the count, when he coming near to me whisper'd me in the ear, and said, "It may be she thinks we will use her as the soldiers have done : go you into the house, and see whether you can find any thing ; I will go round about the house, and perhaps I shall meet with some duck, hen, or chicken." Entering thus into the house, I found for all other furniture of it, the end of an old form, upon which sitting down, the hostess came towards me with a rush candle, and said, "I protest before God that it is true which I told the count, here is nothing to eat ; but you are a gentleman, methinks it is pity you shou'd want ; if you please, I will give you some milk out of my breasts, into a wooden dish I have here." This unexpected kindness made that impression on me, that I remember I was never so tenderly sensible of any thing : my answer was, "God forbid I shou'd take away the milk from the child I see in thy arms, howbeit I shall take it all my life for the greatest piece of charity that ever I heard of ;" and therewithall giving her a pistole, or a piece of gold of fourteen shillings, Scarnafigi and I got on horseback again and rid another post, and came to an inn where we found very coarse cheer, yet hunger made us relish it.

In this journey I remember I went over mount Gabelet by night, being carried down that precipice in a chair, a guide that went before bringing a bottle of straw with him, and kindling pieces of it from time to time, that we might see our way. Being at the bottom of a hill, I got on horseback and rid to Burgoine, resolving to rest there a while ; and the rather (to speak truly) that I had heard divers say, and particularly sir John Finnet\* and sir Richard Newport,† that the host's daughter there, was the handsomest woman that ever

\* Master of the ceremonies.

† Afterwards created a baron, and ancestor of the earls of Bradford.

they saw in their lives. Coming to the inn the count Scarnafigi wisht me to rest two or three hours, and he wou'd go before to Lyons to prepare business for my journey to Languedoc. The host's daughter being not within, I told her father and mother that I desired only to see their daughter, as having heard her spoken of in England with so much advantage, that divers told me they thought her the handsomest creature that ever they saw. They answered she was gone to a marriage, and shou'd be presently sent for, wishing me in the mean while to take some rest upon a bed, for they saw I needed it. Waking now about two hours afterwards I found her sitting by me, attending when I wou'd open mine eyes. I shall touch a little of her description ; her hair being of a shining black, was naturally curled in that order that a curious woman would have drest it, for one curl rising by degrees above another, and every bout tied with a small ribband of a naccarine, or the colour that the knights of the Bath wear, gave a very gracefull mixture, while it was bound up in this manner from the point of her shoulder to the crown of her head ; her eyes, which were round and black, seemed to be models of her whole beauty, and in some sort of her air, while a kind of light or flame came from them, not unlike that which the ribband which tied up her hair exhibited : I do not remember ever to have seen a prettier mouth or whiter teeth ; briefly, all her outward parts seemed to become each other, neither was there any thing that cou'd be misliked, unless one should say her complexion was too brown, which, yet from the shadow, was heightened with a good blood in her cheeks. Her gown was a green Turkey program, cut all into panes or slashes, from the shoulder and sleeves unto the foot, and tied up at the distance of about a hand's-breadth every where with the same ribband, with which her hair was bound ; so that her attire seemed as bizare as her person. I am too long in describing a host's daughter, howbeit I thought I might better speak of her, than of divers other beauties held to be the best and fairest of the time whom I have often seen. In conclu-

sion, after about an hour's stay, I departed thence, without offering so much as the least incivility ; and indeed after so much weariness, it was enough that her sight alone did somewhat refresh me.

From hence I went streight to Lyons : ent'ring the gate, the guards there, after their usual manner, demanded of me who I was, whence I came, and whither I went ? to which, while I answered, I observed one of them look very attentively upon me, and then again upon a paper he had in his hand ; this having been done divers times, bred in me a suspicion that there was no good meaning in it, and I was not deceived in my conjecture ; for the queen mother of France having newly made an edict, that no soldiers shou'd be raised in France, the marquis de Rambouillet,\* French ambassador at Turin, sent word of my imployment to the marquis de St Chaumont, then governor of Lyons, as also a description of my person. This edict was so severe, as they who raised any men were to lose their heads. In this unfortunate conjuncture of affairs, nothing fell out so well on my part, as that I had not raised as yet any men ; howbeit, the guards requiring me to come before the governor, I went with them to a church where he was at vespers ; this while I walked in the lower part of the church, little imagining what danger I was in, had I levied any men ; I had not walked there long, when a single person came to me apparelled in a black stuff suit, without any attendants upon him, when I, supposing this person to be any man rather than the governor, saluted him without much ceremony. His first question was, whence I came ? I answered from Turin ; he demanded then, whither I wou'd go ? I answered, I was not yet resolved ; his third question was, what news at Turin ? to which I answered, that I had no news to tell, as supposing him

\* This gentleman, I believe, was husband of madame de Rambouillet, whose assemblies of the wits and poets were so much celebrated in that age. They were parents of the famous Julie d'Angennes, duchesse de Montausier, well-known by Voiture's letters to her.

to be only some busy or inquisitive person. The marquis hereupon called one of the guards that conducted me thither, and after he had whispered something in his ear, wisht me to go along with him, which I did willingly, as believing this man would bring me to the governor. This man silently leading me out of the church brought me to a fair house, into which I was no sooner entered, but he told me I was commanded to prison there by him I saw in the church, who was the governor; I replied I did not know him to be governor, nor that that was a prison, and that if I were out of it again, neither the governor nor all the town cou'd bring me to it alive. The master of the house hereupon spoke me very fair, and told me he would conduct me to a better chamber than any I could find in an inn, and thereupon conducted me to a very handsome lodging not far from the river; I had not been here half an hour when sir Edward Sackville\* (now earl of Dorset) hearing only that an English man was committed, sent to know who I was, and why I was imprisoned. The governor not knowing whether to lay the fault upon my short answers to him, or my commission to levy men contrary to the queen's edict, made him so doubtfull an answer (after he had a little touched upon both) as he dismissed him unsatisfied.

Sir Edward Sackville hereupon coming to the house where I was, as soon as ever he saw me, embraced me saying, "Ned Herbert, what doest thou here?" I answered, "Ned Sackville, I am glad to see you, but I protest I know not why I am here." He again said, "Hast thou raised any men yet for the duke of Savoy?" I replied, "Not so much as one;" "Then," said he, "I will warrant thee 'tho I must tell thee, the governor is much offended at thy behaviour and language in the church;" (I replied, it was impossible for me to imagine him to be governor, that came without a guard, and in such mean clothes as he then wore.) "I will go to him again, and tell him what you say, and doubt not but you shall be suddainly

\* Well known by his duel with the lord Bruce

freed." Hereupon returning to the governor he told of what family I was, and of what condition, and that I had raised no men, and that I knew him not to be governor; whereupon the marquis wisht him to go back, that he wou'd come in person to free me out of the house.

This message being brought me by sir Edward Sackville, I return'd this answer only, "That it was enough if he sent order to free me." While these messages past, a company of handsome young men and women, out of I know not what civility, brought musick under the window and danced before me, looking often up to see me; but sir Edward Sackville being now return'd with order to free me, I only gave them thanks out of the window, and so went along with them to the governor. Being come into a great hall where his lady was, and a large train of gentlewomen and other persons, the governor, with his hat in his hand, demanded of me whether I knew him? When his noble lady answering for me, said, "How cou'd he know you, when you were in the church alone, and in this habit, being for the rest wholly a stranger to you?" Which civility of hers, 'tho I did not presently take notice of it, I did afterwards most thankfully acknowledge, when I was ambassador in France. The governor's next questions were the very same he made when he met me in the church; to which I made the very same answers before them all, concluding that as I did not know him, he cou'd think it no incongruity if I answered in those terms: the governor yet was not satisfied herewith, and his noble lady taking my part again, gave him those reasons for my answering him in that manner, that they silenced him from speaking any farther. The governor turning back, I likewise, after an humble obeysance made to his lady, returned with sir Edward Sackville to my lodgings.

This night I passed as quietly as I could, but the next morning advised with him what I was to do; I told him I had received a great affront, and that I intended to send him a challenge, in such courteous language that he could not refuse it: sir Edward Sackville by all

means dissuaded me from it; by which means I perceived I was not to expect his assistance therein, and, indeed, the next day he went out of town.

Being alone now, I thought on nothing more than how to send him a challenge, which at last I penn'd to this effect; that whereas he had given me great offence without a cause, I thought myself bound as a gentleman to resent it, and therefore desired to see him with his sword in his hand in any place he should appoint; and hoped he wou'd not interpose his authority as an excuse for not complying with his honor on this occasion, and that so I rested his humble servant.

Finding no body in town for two or three days, by whom I might send this challenge, I resolved for my last means to deliver it in person, and observe how he took it, intending to right myself as I cou'd, when I found he stood upon his authority.

This night it happened that monsieur Terant, formerly mentioned, came to the town; this gentleman knowing me well, and remembering our acquaintance both at France and Juliers, wished there were some occasion for him to serve me: I presently hereupon, taking the challenge out of my pocket, told him he wou'd oblige me extremely if he were pleased to deliver it, and that I hoped he might do it without danger, since I knew the French to be so brave a nation, that they wou'd never refuse or dislike any thing that was done in an honourable and worthy way.

Terant took the challenge from me, and after he had read it, told me that the language was civil and discreet; nevertheless he thought the governor would not return me that answer I expected; howsoever, said he, I will deliver it. Returning thus to my inn, and intending to sleep quieter that night than I had done three nights before; about one of the clock after midnight, I heard a great noise at my door which awakened me, certain persons knocking so hard as if they wou'd break it, besides through the chinks thereof I saw light; this made me presently rise in my shirt, when drawing my sword, I went to the door and demanded who they



were ; and together told them that if they came to make me prisoner, I wou'd rather die with my sword in my hand ; and therewithall opening the door, I found upon the stairs half a dozen men armed with halberts, whom I no sooner prepared to resist, but the chief of them told me, that they came not to me from the governor, but from my good friend the duke of Montmorency, son to the duke I formerly mentioned, and that he came to town late that night, in his way from Languedoc (of which he was governor) to Paris ; and that he desired me, if I loved him, to rise presently and come to him, assuring me farther that this was most true ; hereupon wishing them to retire themselves, I drest myself and went with them ; they conducted me to the great hall of the governor, where the duke of Montmorency and divers other cavaliers had been dancing with the ladies ; I went presently to the duke of Montmorency, who, taking me a little aside, told me that he had heard of the passages betwixt the governor and me, and that I had sent him a challenge ; howbeit, that he conceived men in his place were not bound to answer as private persons for those things they did by vertue of their office : nevertheless, that I should have satisfaction in as ample manner as I cou'd reasonably desire. Hereupon bringing me with him to the governor, he freely told me, that now he knew who I was, he cou'd do no less than assure me that he was sorry for what was done, and desired me to take this for satisfaction ; the duke of Montmorency hereupon said presently, " C'est assez ; It is enough." I then turning to him, demanded whether he wou'd have taken this satisfaction in the like case ? he said, " Yes." After this, turning to the governor, I demanded the same question, to which he answered, " That he wou'd have taken the same satisfaction, and less too." I, kissing my hand, gave it him, who embraced me, and so this business ended.

After some complements past between the duke of Montmorency, who remembered the great love his father bore me, which he desired to continue in his person, and putting me in mind also of our being

educated together for a while, demanded whether I wou'd go with him to Paris? I told him that I was engaged to the Low Countreys, but that wheresoever I was, I shou'd be his most humble servant.

My imployment with the duke of Savoy, in Languedoc, being thus ended, I went from Lyons to Geneva, where I found also my fame had prevented my coming; for the next morning after my arrival, the state taking notice of me, sent a messenger in their name to congratulate my being there, and presented me with some flaggons of wine, desiring me (if I stayed there any while) to see their fortifications, and give my opinion of them; which I did, and told them I thought they were weakest where they thought themselves the strongest; which was on the hilly part, where indeed they had made great fortifications; yet as it is a rule in war, that whatsoever may be made by art, may be destroyed by art again, I conceived they had need to fear the approach of an enemy on that part rather than any other. They replied that divers great soldiers had told them the same; and that they wou'd give the best order they cou'd to serve themselves on that side.

Having rested here some while to take physick, (my health being a little broken with long travel,) I departed after a fortnight's stay to Basil, where, taking a boat upon the river I came at length to Strasbourg, and from thence went to Heydelbourg, where I was receiv'd again by the prince elector and princess with much kindness, and viewed at leisure the fair library there, the gardens, and other rarities of that place; and here I found my horses I lent to Sandilands in good plight, which I then bestowed upon some servants of the prince, in way of retribution for my welcome thither. From hence, sir George Calvert\* and myself went by water for the most part to the Low Countreys, where, taking leave of each other, I went straight to his excellency, who did extraordinarily welcome me, insomuch

\* Afterwards lord Baltimore. See an account of him in the catalogue of "Royal and Noble Authors," vol. ii.

that it was observ'd that he did never outwardly make so much of any one as myself.

It happened this summer that the Low Countrey army was not drawn into the field, so that the prince of Orange past his time at playing at chess with me after dinner; or in going to Reswick with him to see his great horses, or in making love; in which also he used me as his companion; yet so that I saw nothing openly more than might argue a civil familiarity. When I was at any time from him, I did by his good leave endeavour to raise a troop of horse for the duke of Savoy's service, as having obtained a commission to that purpose for my brother William, then an officer in the Low Country. Having these men in readiness, I sent word to the count Scarnafigi thereof, who was now ambassador in England, telling him that if he wou'd send money, my brother was ready to go.

Scarnafigi answered me, "That he expected money in England, and that as soon as he receiv'd it, he wou'd send over so much as wou'd pay an hundred horse:" but a peace betwixt him and the Spaniard being concluded not long after at Asti, the whole charge of keeping this horse fell upon me, without ever to this day receiving any recompense.

Winter now approaching, and nothing more to be done for that year, I went to the Brill to take shipping for England; sir Edward Conway, who was then governor at that place, and afterwards secretary of state, taking notice of my being there, came to me, and invited me every day to come to him, while I attended only for a wind; which serving at last for my journey, sir Edward Conway conducted me to the ship, into which as soon as I was ent'red he caused six pieces of ordnance to be discharged for my farewell. I was scarce gone a league into the sea, when the wind turned contrary, and forced me back again: returning thus to the Brill, sir Edward Conway welcomed me as before; and now, after some three or four days, the wind serving he conducted me again to the ship, and bestowed six volleys of ordnance upon me. I was now about half

way to England, when a most cruel storm arose, which tore our sails and spent our masts, in so much that the master of our ship gave us all for lost, as the wind was extream high and together contrary ; we were carried at last, 'tho with much difficulty, back again to the Brill, where sir Edward Conway did congratulate my escape ; saying, " He believed certainly that (considering the weather) I must needs be cast away."

After some stay here with my former welcome, the wind being now fair, I was conducted again to my ship by sir Edward Conway, and the same volleys of shot given me, and was now scarce out of the haven when the wind again turned contrary, and drove me back. This made me resolve to try my fortune here no longer ; hiring a small barque therefore, I went to the sluice, and from thence to Ostend, where finding company I went to Brussels. In the inn where I lay here an ordinary was kept, to which divers noblemen and principal officers of the Spanish army resorted ; sitting among these at dinner, the next day after my arrival, no man knowing me, or informing himself who I was, they fell into discourse of divers matters in Italian, Spanish, and French, and at last three of them, one after another, began to speak of king James my master in a very scornfull manner ; I thought with myself then, that if I was a base fellow, I need not take any notice thereof, since no man knew me to be an Englishman, or that I did so much as understand their language ; but my heart burning within me, I, putting off my hat, arose from the table, and turning myself to those that sat at the upper end, who had said nothing to the king my master's prejudice, I told them in Italian ; " Son Inglese ; I am an Englishman ; and shou'd be unworthy to live if I suffer'd these words to be spoken of the king my master ;" and therewithall, turning myself to those who had injured the king, I said, " You have spoken falsely, and I will fight with you all ;" those at the upper end of the table, finding I had so much reason on my part, did sharply check those I questioned, and, to be brief, made them ask the king's forgiveness,

wherewith also, the king's health being drank round about the table, I departed thence to Dunkirk, and thence to Graveling, where I saw, thô unknown, an English gentlewoman enter into a nunnery there. I went thence to Calais ; it was now extream foul weather, and I cou'd find no master of a ship willing to adventure to sea ; howbeit my impatience was such, that I demanded of a poor fisherman there, whether he wou'd go ; he answered his ship was worse than any in the haven, as being open above, and without any deck, besides that it was old ; " but," saith he, " I care for my life as little as you do, and if you will go, my boat is at your service."

I was now scarce out of the haven when a high grown sea had almost overwhelmed us, the waves coming in very fast into our ship, which we laded out again the best we cou'd ; notwithstanding which we expected every minute to be cast away. It pleased God yet, before we were gone six leagues into the sea, to cease the tempest, and give us a fair passage over to the Downs ; where, after giving God thanks for my delivery from this most needless danger that ever I did run, I went to London ; I had not been here ten days, when a quartan ague seized on me, which held me for a year and a half without intermission, and a year and a half longer at spring and fall ; the good days I had during all this sickness I employed in study, the ill being spent in as sharp and long fitts as I think ever any man endured, which brought me at last to be so lean and yellow, that scarce any man did know me. It happened during this sickness, that I walked abroad one day towards Whitehall, where meeting with one Emerson, who spoke very disgracefull words of sir Robert Harley, being then my dear friend, my weakness cou'd not hinder me to be sensible of my friend's dishonor ; shaking him therefore by a long beard he wore, I stept a little aside and drew my sword in the street, captain Thomas Scriven a friend of mine being not far off on one side, and divers friends of his on the other side ; all that saw me wondered how I cou'd go, being so weak and consumed as I was,

but much more that I wou'd offer to fight ; howsoever, Emerson, instead of drawing his sword, ran away into Suffolk-house, and afterwards informed the lords of the counsel of what I had done ; who not long after sending for me, did not so much reprehend my taking part with my friend, as that I wou'd adventure to fight being in such a bad condition of health. Before I came wholly out of my sickness, sir George Villiers, afterwards duke of Buckingham, came into the king's favour : this cavalier meeting me accidentally at the lady Stanop's\* house, came to me, and told me he had heard so much of my worth, as he wou'd think himself happy if, by his credit with the king, he cou'd do me any service ; I humbly thanked him, but told him that for the present I had need of nothing so much as of health, but that if ever I had ambition, I shou'd take the boldness to make my address by him.

I was no sooner perfectly recover'd of this long sickness, but the earl of Oxford and myself resolved to raise two regiments for the service of the Venetians ; while we were making ready for this journey, the king having an occasion to send an ambassador into France, required sir George Villiers to present him with the names of the fittest men for that employment that he knew ; whereupon eighteen names, among which mine was, being written in a paper, were presented to him ; the king presently chose me, yet so as he desired first to have the approbation of his privy counsel, who, confirming his majesty's choice, sent a messenger to my house among gardens, near the Old Exchange, requiring me to come presently to them ; myself little knowing then the honor intended me, askt the messenger whether I had done any fault, that the lords sent for me so suddenly ? wishing him to tell the lords that I was going to dinner, and wou'd afterwards attend them. I had scarce dined, when another messenger was sent, this

\* Catherine daughter of Francis lord Hastings, first wife of Philip lord Stanhope, afterwards created earl of Chesterfield.

made me hasten to Whitehall, where I was no sooner come, but the lords saluted me by the name of lord ambassador of France; I told their lordships thereupon, that I was glad it was no worse, and that I doubted that by their speedy sending for me, some complaint, 'tho false, might be made against me.

My first commission was, to renew the oath of alliance betwixt the two crowns, for which purpose I was extraordinary ambassador, which being done, I was to reside there as ordinary: I had receiv'd now about six or seven hundred pounds, towards the charges of my journey, and locked it in certain coffers in my house, when the night following, about one of the clock, I cou'd hear divers men speak and knock at the door, in that part of the house where none did lie but myself: my wife, and her attendants, my servants being lodged in another house not far off; as soon as I heard the noise, I suspected presently they came to rob me of my money, howsoever I thought fit to rise, and go to the window to know who they were; the first word I heard was "Darest thou come down, welch man?" which I no sooner heard, but taking a sword in one hand, and a little target in the other, I did, in my shirt, run down the stairs, open the doors suddainly, and charged ten or twelve of them with that fury that they ran away, some throwing away their halberts, others hurting their fellows to make them go faster in a narrow way they were to pass; in which disorder'd manner I drove them to the middle of the street by the Exchange, where finding my bare feet hurt by the stones I trod on, I thought fit to return home, and leave them to their flight. My servants hearing the noise, by this time were got up, and demanded whether I wou'd have them pursue those rogues that fled away; but I answering, that I thought they were out of their reach, we returned home together.

While I was preparing myself for my journey, it happened that I, passing through the inner temple one day, and encountering sir Robert Vaughan in this countrey, some harsh words passed betwixt us, which

occasioned him at the perswasion of others, whom I will not nominate, to send me a challenge; this was brought me at my house in Blackfryars by captain Charles Price, upon a Sunday about one of the clock in the afternoon; when I had read it, I told Charles Price that I did ordinarily bestow this day in devotion, nevertheless, that I wou'd meet sir Robert Vaughan presently, and gave him thereupon the length of my sword, demanding whether he brought any second with him; to which Charles Price replying that he would be in the field with him, I told my brother sir Henry Herbert then present, thereof, who readily offering himself to be my second, nothing was wanting now but the place to be agreed upon betwixt us, which was not far from the waterside near Chelsea.

My brother and I taking boat presently, came to the place, where after we had staid about two hours in vain, I desired my brother to go to sir Robert Vaughan's lodging, and tell him that I now attended his coming a great while, and that I desired him to come away speedily; hereupon my brother went, and after a while returning back again, he told me they were not ready yet; I attended then about an hour and an half longer, but as he did not come yet, I sent my brother a second time to call him away, and to tell him I catcht cold, nevertheless that I wou'd stay there 'till sunset; my brother yet could not bring him along, but return'd himself to the place, where we stay'd together 'till half an hour after sunset, and then returned home.

The next day the earl of Worcester,\* by the king's command, forbid me to receive any message or letter from sir Robert Vaughan, and advertised me withall, that the king had given him charge to end the business betwixt us, for which purpose he desired me to come before him the next day about two of the clock; at which time, after the earl had told me, that being now made ambassador and a publick person, I ought not to entertajn private quarrels; after which, without much

\* Edward Somerset earl of Worcester, lord privy sea and knight of the garter.



ado, he ended the business betwixt sir Robert Vaughan and myself; it was thought by some, that this wou'd make me lose my place, I being under so great an obligation to the king for my employment in France; but sir George Villiers, afterwards duke of Buckingham, told me he wou'd warrant me for this one time, but I must do so no more.

I was now almost ready for my journey, and had received already as choice a company of gentlemen for my attendants, as I think ever followed an ambassador; when some of my private friends told me, that I was not to trust so much to my pay from the exchequer, but that it was necessary for me to take letters of credit with me, for as much money as I could well procure. Informing myself hereupon who had furnished the last ambassador, I was told Monsieur Savage, a Frenchman; coming to his house, I demanded, whether he wou'd help me with moneys in France, as he had done the last ambassador; he said, he did not know me, but wou'd inform himself better who I was; departing thus from him, I went to Sigr. Burlamacchi, a man of great credit in those times, and demanded of him the same; his answer was, that he knew me to be a man of honor, and I had kept my word with every body; whereupon, also going to his study, gave me a letter of credit to one Monsieur de Langherac in Paris, for 2000*l.* sterling: I then demanded what security he expected for this money? he said, he wou'd have nothing but my promise; I told him he had put a great obligation upon me, and that I wou'd strive to acquit myself of it the best I cou'd.

Having now a good sum of money in my coffers, and this letter of credit, I made ready for my journey. The day I went out of London I remember, was the same in which queen Anne was carried to burial, which was a sad spectacle to all that had occasion to honor her. My first night's journey was to Gravesend, where being at supper in my inn, Monsieur Savage, formerly mentioned, came to me, and told me, that whereas I had spoken to him for a letter of credit, he had made one

which he thought wou'd be to my contentment; I demanded to whom it was directed; he said to Monsieur Tallemant and Rambouillet in Paris; I asked then what they were worth? he said above one hundred thousand pounds sterling; I demanded how much this letter of credit was? he said for as much as I shou'd have need of: I asked what security he required? he said, nothing but my word, which he had heard was inviolable.

From Gravesend, by easy journeys, I went to Dover, where I took shipping, with a train of a hundred and odd persons, and arrived shortly after at Calais, where I remember, my cheer was twice as good as at Dover, and my reckoning half as cheap; from whence I went to Boulogne, Monstreville, Abbeville, Amiens, and in two days thence to St Dennis near Paris, where I was met with a great train of coaches, that were sent to receive me, as also by the master of the ceremonies, and Monsieur Mennon my fellow scholar, with Monsieur Disancour, who then kept an academy, and brought with him a brave company of gentlemen on great horses, to attend me into town.

It was now somewhat late when I entered Paris, upon a Saturday night; I was but newly settled in my lodging, when a secretary of the Spanish ambassador there, told me that his lord desired to have the first audience from me, and therefore requested he might see me the next morning; I replied, it was a day I gave wholly to devotion, and therefore intreated him to stay 'till some more convenient time: the secretary replied, that his master did hold it no less holy; howbeit that his respect to me was such, that he wou'd prefer the desire he had to serve me before all other considerations; howsoever I put him off 'till Monday following.

Not long after I took a house in Fauxbourg St. Germain, Rue Tournon, which cost me 200*l.* sterling yearly; having furnished the house richly, and lodged all my train, I prepared for a journey to Tours and Touraine, where the French court then was: being

come hither in extream hot weather, I demanded audience of the king and queen, which being granted I did assure the king of the great affection the king my master bore him, not only out of the ancient alliance betwixt the two crowns, but because Henry the fourth and the king my master had stipulated with each other, that whensoever any one of them died, the survivor shou'd take care of the other's child: I assured him farther, that no charge was so much imposed upon me by my instructions, as that I shou'd do good offices betwixt both kingdoms; and therefore that it were a great fault in me, if I behaved myself otherwise than with all respect to his majesty: this being done, I presented to the king a letter of credence from the king my master: the king assured me of a reciprocal affection to the king my master, and of my particular welcome to his court: his words were never many, as being so extream a stutterer that he wou'd sometimes hold his tongue out of his mouth a good while before he cou'd speak so much as one word; he had besides a double row of teeth, and was observed seldom or never to spit or blow his nose, or to sweat much, 'thô he were very laborious, and almost indefatigable in his exercises of hunting and hawking, to which he was much addicted: neither did it hinder him, 'thô he was burst in his body, as we call it, or herniosus; for he was noted in those sports, 'thô often times on foot, to tire not only his courtiers, but even his lackies, being equally insensible, as was thought, either of heat or cold: his understanding and natural parts were as good as cou'd be expected in one that was brought up in so much ignorance, which was on purpose so done that he might be the longer governed; howbeit, he acquired in time a great knowledge in affairs, as conversing for the most part with wise and active persons. He was noted to have two qualities incident to all who were ignorantly brought up, suspicion and dissimulation: for as ignorant persons walk so much in the dark, they cannot be exempt from fear of stumbling; and as they are likewise deprived of, or deficient in

those true principles, by which they shou'd govern both publick and private actions in a wise, solid, and demonstrative way, they strive commonly to supply these imperfections with covert arts, which 'tho it may be sometimes excusable in necessitous persons, and be indeed frequent among those who negotiate in small matters, yet condemnable in princes, who, proceeding upon foundations of reason and strength, ought not to submit themselves to such poor helps : howbeit, I must observe, that neither his fears did take away his courage, when there was occasion to use it, nor his dissimulation extend itself to the doing of private mischiefs to his subjects, either of one or the other religion : his favorite was one Monsieur De Luynes, who in his non-age gained much upon the king, by making hawkes fly at all little birds in his gardens, and by making some of those little birds again catch butter-flies ; and had the king used him for no other purpose, he might have been tolerated ; but as, when the king came to a riper age, the government of publick affairs was drawn chiefly from his counsells, not a few errors were committed.

The queen-mother, princes, and nobles of that kingdom repined that his advices to the king shou'd be so prevalent, which also at last caused a civil war in that kingdom. How unfit this man was for the credit he had with the king may be argued by this ; that when there was question made about some business in Bohemia, he demanded, whether it was an inland country, or lay upon the sea ? and thus much for the present of the king and his favorite.

After my audience with the king, I had another from the queen, being sister to the king of Spain ; I had little to say unto her, but some complements on the king my master's part, but such complements as her sex and quality were capable of. This queen was exceedingly fair, like those of the house of Austria, and together of so mild and good a condition, she was never noted to have done ill offices to any, but to have mediated as much as was possible for her, in satisfaction of

those who had any suit to the king, as far as their cause wou'd bear. She had now been married divers years without having any children, 'tho' so ripe for them, that nothing seemed to be wanting on her part. I remember her the more particularly, that she shewed publickly at my audiences that favor to me, as not only my servants but divers others took notice of it. After this my first audience, I went to see Monsieur de Luynes, and the principal ministers of state, as also the princes and princesses, and ladies then in the court, and particularly the princess of Conti, from whom I carried the scarf formerly mentioned; and this is as much as I shall declare in this place, concerning my negociation with the king and state; my purpose being, if God sends me life, to set them forth apart, as having the copies of all my despatches in a great trunk in my house in London; and considering that in the time of my stay there, there were divers civil wars in that country, and that the prince, now king, passed with my lord of Buckingham and others through France into Spain; and the business of the elector palatine in Bohemia, and the battle of Prague, and divers other memorable accidents, both of state and war, happened during the time of my employment; I conceive a narration of them may be worth the seeing to them who have it not from a better hand; I shall only therefore relate here, as they come into my memory, certain little passages, which may serve in some part to declare the history of my life.

Coming back from Tours to Paris, I gave the best order I cou'd concerning the expenses of my house, family and stable, that I might settle all things as near as was possible in a certain course; allowing, according to the manner of France, so many pounds of beef, mutton, veal, and pork, and so much also in turkeys, capons, pheasants, partridges, and all other fowls, as also pies and tarts after the French manner, and after all this, a dozen dishes of sweet-meats every meal constantly: the ordering of these things was the heavier to me, that my wife flatly refused to come over into

France, as being now entered into a dropsie, which also had kept her without children for many years: I was constrained therefore to make use of a steward, who was understanding and diligent, but no very honest man: my chief secretary was William Boswell, now the king's agent in the Low Countreys: my secretary for the French tongue was one Monsieur Ozier, who afterwards was the king's agent in France: the gentleman of my horse was Monsieur de Meny, who afterwards commanded a 1000 horse in the wars of Germany, and proved a very gallant gentleman: Mr. Crofts was one of my principal gentlemen, and afterwards made the king's cup-bearer; and Thomas Caage, that excellent wit, the king's carver: Edmund Taverner, whom I made my under secretary, was afterwards chief secretary to the lord chamberlain; and one Mr. Smith, secretary to the earl of Northumberland; I nominate these, and cou'd many more, that came to very good fortunes afterwards, because I may verifie that which I said before, concerning the gentlemen that attended me.

When I came to Paris the English and French were in very ill intelligence with each other, insomuch that one Buckley coming then to me, said he was assaulted and hurt upon Pontneuf, only because he was an Englishman: nevertheless, after I had been in Paris about a month, all the English were so welcome thither, that no other nation was so acceptable amongst them, insomuch that my gentlemen having a quarrel with some debauched French, who in their drunkenness quarrelled with them, divers principall gentlemen of that nation offered themselves to assist my people with their swords.

It happened one day that my cozen Oliver Herbert, and George Radney, being gentlemen who attended me, and Henry Whittingham, my butler, had a quarrel with some French, upon I know not what frivolous occasion; it happened my cozen Oliver Herbert had for his opposite, a fencer belonging to the prince of Condé, who was dangerously hurt by him in divers places; but as the house or hostel of the prince of

Condé was not far off, and himself well-beloved in those quarters, the French in great multitudes arising, drove away the three above mentioned into my house, pursuing them within the gates; I perceiving this at a window, ran out with my sword, which the people no sooner saw, but they fled again as fast as ever they entered; howsoever, the prince of Condé his fencer was in that danger of his life, that Oliver Herbert was forced to fly France, which, that he might do the better, I paid the said fencer 200 crowns, or 60 pounds sterling, for his hurt and cures.

The plague being now hot in Paris, I desired the duke of Montmorency to lend me the castle of Merlou, where I lived in the time of the most noble father, which he willingly granted: removing thither, I enjoyed that sweet place and countrey, wherein I found not a few that welcomed me out of their ancient acquaintance.

On the one side of me was the baron de Montaterre, of the reformed religion, and Monsieur de Bouteville on the other, who, 'tho' young at the time, proved afterwards to be that brave cavalier which all France did so much celebrate: in both their castles likewise were ladies of much beauty and discretion, and particularly a sister of Bouteville, thought to be one of the chief perfections of the time, whose company yielded some divertisement, when my publick occasions did suffer it.

Winter being now come, I returned to my house in Paris, and prepared for renewing the oath of alliance betwixt the two crowns, for which, as I said formerly, I had an extraordinary commission; nevertheless, the king put off the business to as long a time as he well could. In the mean while, prince Henry of Nassau, brother to prince Maurice, coming to Paris, was met and much welcomed by me, as being obliged to him, no less than to his brother in the Low Countreys. This prince and all his train were feasted by me at Paris with a 100 dishes, costing, as I remember, in all 100*l*.

The French king at last resolving upon a day for

performing the ceremony, betwixt the two crowns abovemention'd ; myself and all my train put ourselves into that sumptuous equipage that I remember it cost me one way or another above 1000*l*. And truly, the magnificence of it was such, as a little French book was presently printed thereof: this being done I resided here in the quality of an ordinary ambassador.

And now I shall mention some particular passages concerning myself, without ent'ring yet any way into the whole frame and context of my negotiation, reserving them, as I said before, to a particular treatise ; I spent my time much in the visits of the princes, counsell of state, and great persons of the French kingdom, who did ever punctually requite my visits: the like I did also to the chief ambassadors there, among whom, the Venetian, Low Countrey, Savoy, and the united princes in Germany ambassadors did bear me that respect, that they usually met in my house, to advise together concerning the great affairs of that time: for, as the Spaniard then was so potent that he seemed to affect an universal monarchy, all the abovementioned ambassadors did in one common interest strive to oppose him: all our endeavours yet cou'd not hinder, but that he both publickly prevailed in his attempts abroad, and privately did corrupt divers of the principal ministers of state in this kingdom. I came to discover this by many ways, but by none more effectually than by the means of an Italian, who returned over by letters of exchange the moneys the Spanish ambassador received for his occasions in France ; for I perceiv'd that when the said Italian was to receive an extraordinary great sum for the Spanish ambassador's use, the whole face of affairs was presently changed, insomuch that neither my reasons, nor the ambassadors abovementioned, how valid soever, cou'd prevail ; thô yet afterwards we found means together to reduce affairs to their former train ; 'till some other new great sum coming to the Spanish ambassador's hand, and from thence to the aforesaid ministers of state, altered all. Howbeit, divers visits past betwixt the Spanish ambas-



sador and myself, in one of which he told me that thô our interests were divers, yet we might continue friendship in our particular persons ; for, said he, it can be no occasion of offence betwixt us, that each of us strive the best he can to serve the king his master : I disliked not his reasons, thô yet I cou'd not omit to tell him that I wou'd maintain the dignity of the king my master the best I cou'd ; and this I said, because the Spanish ambassador had taken place of the English in the time of Henry the fourth in this fashion, they both meeting in an anti-chamber to the secretary of state, the Spanish ambassador leaning to the wall in that posture that he took the hand of the English ambassador, said publickly, " I hold this place in the right of the king my master ;" which small punctilio, being not resented by our ambassador at that time, gave the Spaniard occasion to bragg that he had taken the hand from our ambassador. This made me more watchfull to regain the honor which the Spaniard pretended to have gotten herein, so that thô the ambassador in his visits often repeated the words abovementioned, being in Spanish, " Que cada uno haga lo que pudiere por su amo ; Let every man do the best he can for his master ;" I attended the occasion to right my master ; it happened one day that both of us going to the French king for our several affairs, the Spanish ambassador between Paris and Estampes, being upon his way before me in his coach, with a train of about 16 or 18 persons on horseback, I following him in my coach with about 10 or 12 horse, found that either I must go the Spanish pace, which is slow, or if I hasted to pass him, that I must hazard the suffering of some affront like unto that our former ambassador received ; proposing hereupon to my gentlemen the whole business, I told them that I meant to redeem the honor of the king my master some way or other, demanding farther whether they wou'd assist me ? which they promising, I bid the coachman drive on ; the Spanish ambassador seeing me approach, and imagining what my intention was, sent a gentleman to me, to tell me he desired to salute

me, which I accepting, the gentleman returned to the ambassador, who alighting from his coach attended me in the middle of the highway, which being perceiv'd by me I alighted also, when some extravagant complements having past betwixt us, the Spanish ambassador took his leave of me, went to a dry ditch not far off, upon pretence of \* \* \* \*, but indeed to hold the upper hand of me while I past by in my coach, which being observed by me I left my coach, and getting upon a spare horse I had there, rode into the said dry ditch, and telling him aloud, that I knew well why he stood there, bid him afterwards get to his coach, for I must ride that way: the Spanish ambassador, who understood me well, went to his coach grumbling and discontented, 'tho yet neither he nor his train did any more than look one upon another in a confused manner; my coach this while passing by the ambassador on the same side I was, I shortly after left my horse and got into it: it hap'n'd this while, that one of my coach horses having lost a shoe, I thought fit to stay at a smith's forge, about a quarter of a mile before; this shoe cou'd not be put on so soon, but that the Spanish ambassador overtook us, and might indeed have past us, but that he thought I wou'd give him another affront; attending therefore the smith's leasure, he stayed in the highway to our no little admiration, untill my horse was shoed; we continued our journey to Estampes, the Spanish ambassador following us still at a good distance.

I shou'd scarce have mentioned this passage, but that the Spaniards do so much stand upon their Pundonores; for confirming whereof I have thought fit to remember the answer a Spanish ambassador made to Philip the second king of Spain, who finding fault with him for neglecting a business of great importance in Italy, because he cou'd not agree with the French ambassador about some such Pundonore as this, said to him, "*Como a dexado una cosa di importancia per una cerimonia! How, have you left a business of importance for a ceremony?*" The ambassador boldly replied to his

master, "Como por una ceremonia? Vuessa majesta misma no es sino una ceremonia: How, for a ceremony? Your majesty's self is but a ceremony."

Howsoever the Spanish ambassador taking no notice publickly of the advantage I had of him herein, dissembled it, as I heard, 'till he cou'd find some fit occasion to resent this passage, which yet he never did to this day.

Among the visits I render'd to the grandees of France, one of the principal I made was, to that brave general the duke of Lesdigueres, who was now grown very old and deaf; his first words to me were, "Monsieur, you must do me the honor to speak high, for I am deaf;" my answer to him was, "You was born to command and not to obey; it is enough if others have ears to hear you:" this complement took him much, and indeed I have a manuscript of his military precepts and observations, which I value at a great price.

I shall relate now some things concerning my self, which, 'tho they may seem scarce credible, yet before God are true: I had been now in France about a year and an half, when my taylor, Andrew Henly of Basil, who now lives in Blackfryars, demanded of me half a yard of satin to make me a suit more than I was accustomed to give, of which I required a reason, saying, I was not fatter now than when I came to France; he answered, it was true, but you are taller; whereunto when I wou'd give no credit, he brought his old measures, and made it appear that they did not reach to their just places; I told him I knew not how this hap'ned, but howsoever he shou'd have half a yard more, and that when I came into England I wou'd clear the doubt, for a little before my departure thence, I remember William earl of Pembroke and myself did measure heights together at the request of the countess of Bedford, and he was then higher than I by about the breadth of my little finger: at my return therefore into England I measured again with the same earl, and to both our great wonders found myself taller than he by the breadth of a little finger; which growth of

mine I cou'd attribute to no other cause but to my quartan ague formerly mentioned, which, when it quitted me, left me in a more perfect health than I formerly enjoyed, and indeed disposed me to some follies which I afterwards repented, and do still repent of: but as my wife refused to come over, and my temptations were great, I hope the faults I committed are the more pardonable: howsoever, I can say truly, that whether in France or England, I was never in a bawdyhouse, nor used my pleasures intemperately, and much less did accompany them with that dissimulation and falsehood which is commonly found in men addicted to love women: to conclude this passage, which I unwillingly mention, I must protest again before God, that I never delighted in that or any other sin, and that if I transgressed sometimes in this kind, it was to avoid a greater ill; for certainly if I had been provided with a lawful remedy, I shou'd have fallen into no extravagancy: I cou'd extenuate my fault, by telling circumstances which wou'd have operated, I doubt, upon the chastest of mankind, but I forbear, those things being not fit to be spoken of; for tho' the philosophers have accounted this act to be *inter honesta factu*, where neither injury nor violence was offered, yet they ever reckoned it among the *turpia dictu*; I shall therefore only tell some other things alike strange of myself.

I weighed myself in ballances often with men lower than myself by the head, and in their bodies slenderer, and yet was found lighter than they, as sir John Davers, knight, and Richard Griffiths, now living, can witness, with both whom I have been weighed; I had also, and have still a pulse on the crown of my head; it is well known to those that wait in my chamber, that the shirts, waistcoats, and other garments I wear next my body are sweet, beyond what either easily can be believed, or hath been observed in any else, which sweetness also was found to be in my breath above others, before I used to take tobacco, which towards my latter time I was forced to take against cer-

tain rheumes and catarres that trouble me, which yet did not taint my breath for any long time ; I scarce ever felt cold in my life, 'tho yet so subject to catarres, that I think no man ever was more obnoxious to it ; all which I do in a familiar way mention to my posterity, tho otherwise they might be thought scarce worth the writing.

The effect of my being sent into France by the king my master, being to hold all good intelligence betwixt both crowns, my employment was both noble and pleasing, and my pains not great, France having no design at that time upon England, and king James being that pacifick prince all the world knew. And thus, besides the times I spent in treaties and negotiations, I had either with the ministers of state in France, or foreign ambassadors residing in Paris, I had spare time, not only for my book, but for visits to divers grandees, for little more ends than obtaining some intelligence of the affairs of that kingdom and civil conversation, for which their free, generous, and cheerful company was no little motive ; persons of all quality being so addicted to have mutual entertainment with each other, that in calme weather one might find all the noble and good company in Paris of both sexes, either in the garden of the Tuilleries, or in the park of Bois de Vincennes, they thinking it almost an incivility to refuse their presence and free discourse to any who were capable of coming to those places, either under the recommendation of good parts, or but so much as handsome cloths and a good equipage ; when foul weather was, they spent their time in visits at each other's houses, where they interchanged civil discourses, or heard musick, or fell to dancing, using, according to the manner of that countrey, all the reasonable liberties they cou'd with their honor ; while their manner was, either in the garden of the Tuilleries or elsewhere, if any one discoursing with a lady, did see some other of good fashion approach to her, he wou'd leave her and go to some other lady, he who conversed with her at that time quitting her also and

going to some other, that so addresses might be made equal and free to all without scruple on any part, neither was exception made or quarrel begun upon these terms.

It hap'n'd one day that I being ready to return from the Tuilleries, about eight of the clock in the summer, with intention to write a dispatch to the king about some intelligence I had received there, the queen attended with her principal ladies, without so much as one cavalier, did enter the gardens ; I stayed on one side of an alley there to do my reverence to her and the rest, and so return to my house, when the queen perceiving me, staid awhile as if she expected I shou'd attend her, but as I stirred not more than to give her that great respect I owed her, the princess of Conti who was next, called me to her, and said I must go along with her ; but I excusing myself upon occasion of a present dispatch which I was to make unto his majesty, the dutchess of Antador who followed her came to me, and said I must not refuse her, whereupon, leading her by her arms, according to the manner of that countrey, the princess of Conti, offended that I had denied her that civility, which I had yielded to another, took me off, after she had demanded the consent of the dutchess, but the queen then also staying, I left the princess, and with all due humility, went to the queen and led her by the arms, walking thus to a place in the garden where some orange trees grew, and here, discoursing with her majesty bare-headed, some small shot fell on both our heads ; the occasion whereof was this, the king being in the garden, and shooting at a bird in the air, which he did with much perfection, the descent of his shot fell just upon us ; the queen was much startled herewith, when I coming nearer to her, demanded whether she had received any harm ; to which she answering no, and therewith taking two or three small pellets from her hair, it was thought fit to send a gardiner to the king, to tell him that her majesty was there, and that he shou'd shoot no more that way, which was no sooner heard among

the nobles that attended him, but many of them leaving him came to the queen and ladies, among whom was monsieur Le Grand,\* who finding the queen still discoursing with me stole behind her, and letting fall gently some comfits he had in his pocket upon the queen's hair, gave her occasion to apprehend that some shot had fallen on her again; turning hereupon to monsieur Le Grand, I said that I marvelled that so old a courtier as he was cou'd find no means to entertain ladies but by making them afraid; but the queen shortly after returning to her lodging, I took my leave of her and came home: all which passage I have thought fit to set down, the accident above-mentioned being so strange, that it can hardly be parellel'd.

It fell out one day that the prince of Condé coming to my house, some speech happ'ned concerning the king my master, in whom, tho' he acknowledged much learning, knowledge, clemency, and divers other virtues, yet he said he had heard that the king was much given to cursing; I answered, that it was out of his gentleness; but the prince demanding how cursing cou'd be a gentleness? I replied, yes, for tho' he cou'd punish men himself, yet he left them to God to punish; which defence of the king my master was afterwards much celebrated in the French court.

Monsieur de Luines† continuing still the king's favorite, advised him to war against his subjects of the reform'd religion in France; saying, he wou'd neither be a great prince as long as he suffered so puissant a party to remain within his dominions, nor cou'd justly stile himself the most christian king, as long as he permitted such hereticks to be in that great number they were, or to hold those strong places which by publick edict were assigned to them, and therefore that he shou'd extirpate them as the Spaniards had done the Moors, who are all banished into other countreys, as we may find in their histories: this counsell, tho' approved by the young king, was yet disliked by other

\* Roger duc de Bellegarde, grand escuyer.

† Charles Albert duc of Luynes.

grave and wise persons about him, and particularly by the chancellor Sillery and the president Jannin, who thought better to have a peace which had two religions, than a war that had none. Howbeit, the design of Luines was applauded, not only by the jesuit party in France, but by some princes and other martial persons, in so much that the duke of Guise\* coming to see me one day, said that they shou'd never be happy in France, 'till those of the religion were rooted out ; I answer'd, that I wonder'd to hear him say so ; and the duke demanding why, I replied, that whensoever those of the religion were put down, the turn of the great persons, and governors of provinces of that kingdom would be next ; and that tho' the present king were a good prince, yet that their successors may be otherwise, and that men did not know how soon princes might prove tyrants when they had nothing to fear ; which speech of mine was fatal, since those of the religion were no sooner reduced into that weak condition in which now they are, but the governors of provinces were brought lower, and curbed much in their power and authority, and the duke of Guise first of them all ; so that I doubt not but my words were well remembered. Howsoever, the war now went on with much fervor, neither cou'd I diswade it, 'tho' using, according to the instructions I had from the king my master, many arguments for that purpose. I was told often, that if the reformation in France had been like that in England, where they observed we retained the hierarchy, together with decent rites and ceremonies in the church, as also holidays in the memory of saints, musick in churches, and divers other testimonies, both of glorifying God, and giving honor and reward to learning, they cou'd much better have tolerated it ; but such a rash and violent reformation as theirs was, ought by no means to be approved ; whereunto I answered, that tho' the causes of departing from the church of Rome were taught and delivered by many sober and modest per-

\* Charles, son of Henry duke of Guise, who was killed at Blois.



sons, yet that the reformation in great part was acted by the common people, whereas ours began at the prince of state, and therefore was more moderate; which reason I found did not displease them; I added farther then, that the reform'd religion in France wou'd easily enough admit a hierarchy, if they had sufficient means among them to maintain it, and that if their churches were as fair as those which the Roman catholicks had, they wou'd use the more decent sorts of rites and ceremonies, and together like well of organs and quires of singers, rather than make a breach or schism on that occasion; as for holidays, I doubted not but the principal persons and ministers of their religion wou'd approve it much better than the common people, who being labourers and artizens for the most part, had the advantages for many more days than the Roman catholicks for getting their living; howsoever that those of the religion had been good cautions to make the Roman catholick priests if not better, yet at least more wary in their lives and actions; it being evident that since the reformation began among those of the religion, the Roman catholicks had divers ways reformed themselves, and abated not only much of the power they usurped over laics, but were more pious and continent than formerly. Lastly, that those of the religion acknowledged solely the king's authority in government of all affairs, whereas, the other side held the regal power, not only inferior in divers points, but subordinate to the papal, nothing of which yet served to divert monsieur de Luines, or the king, from their resolutions.

The king having now assembled an army, and made some progress against those of the religion, I had instruction sent me from the king my master to mediate a peace, and if I cou'd not prevail therein, to use some such words as may both argue his majesty's care of them of the religion, and together to let the French king know, that he would not permit their total ruin and extirpation. The king was now going to lay siege to St Jean d'Angely, when myself was newly

recovered of a fever at Paris, in which, besides the help of many able physitians, I had the comfort of divers visits from many principal grandees of France, and particularly the princess of Conti, who wou'd set by my bedside two or three hours, and with cheerful discourse entertain me, thô yet I was brought so low, that I cou'd scarce return any thing by way of answer but thanks. The command yet which I received from the king my master quickened me, insomuch that by slow degrees I went into my coach, together with my train, towards St Jean d'Angely. Being arrived within a small distance of that place, I found by divers circumstances that the effect of my negotiation had been discovered from England, and that I was not welcome thither: howbeit, having obtained an audience from the king, I exposed what I had in charge to say to him, to which yet I received no other answer, but that I shou'd go to monsieur de Luines, by whom I shou'd know his majesty's intention. Repairing thus to him, I did find outwardly good reception, thô yet I did not know how cunningly he proceeded to betray and frustrate my endeavors for those of the religion; for hiding a gentleman called monsieur Arnaud behind the hangings in his chamber, who was then of the religion, but had promised to revolt to the king's side; this gentleman, as he himself confessed afterwards to the earl of Carlile, had in charge to relate unto those of the religion, how little help they might expect from me, when he should tell them the answers which monsieur de Luines made me. Sitting thus in a chair before monsieur de Luines, he demanded the effect of my business; I answered, that the king my master commanded me to mediate a peace betwixt his majesty and his subjects of the religion, and that I desired to do it in all those fair and equal terms which might stand with the honor of France, and the good intelligence betwixt the two kingdoms; to which he returned this rude answer only, "What hath the king your master to do with our actions? Why doth he meddle with our affairs?" My reply was, "That the king my master ought not to give an account of the reason which

induced him hereunto, and as for me, it was enough to obey him ; howbeit if he did ask me in more gentle terms, I shou'd do the best I cou'd to give him satisfaction." To which, thò he answered no more than the word " Bien," or well, I pursuing my instruction said, " That the king my master, according to the mutual stipulation betwixt Henry the fourth and himself, that the survivor of either of them shou'd procure the tranquillity and peace of the other's estate, had sent this message ; and that he had not only testified this his pious inclination heretofore in the late civil wars of France, but was desirous on this occasion also to show how much he stood affected to the good of the kingdom : besides, he hoped that when peace was established here, that the French king might be the more easily disposed to assist the Palatine, who was an ancient friend and allie of the French crown." His reply to this was, " We will have none of your advices." Whereupon I said, " That I took those words for answer, and was sorry only that they did not understand sufficiently the affection and good-will of the king my master ; and since they rejected it upon those terms, I had in charge to tell him, that we knew very well what we had to do." Luines seeming offended herewith, said, " Nous ne vous craignons pas," or, we are not afraid of you ; I replied hereupon, " That if you had said you had not loved us, I should have believed you, but shou'd have returned you another answer ; in the mean while that I had no more to say than what I told him formerly, which was that we knew what we had to do." This, 'thò somewhat less than was in my instructions, so angered him, that in much passion he said, " Par Dieu si vous n'êtes monsieur l'ambassadeur, je vous traitteroie d'un' autre sorte ; by God if you were not monsieur ambassador, I wou'd use you after another fashion." My answer was, " That as I was an ambassador, so I was also a gentleman ;" and therewithall laying my hand upon the hilt of my sword, told him, there was that which should make him an answer, and so arose from my chair ; to which monsieur de Luines made no reply,

but arising likewise from his chair, offered civilly to accompany me to the door ; but I telling him there was no occasion for him to use ceremony, after so rude an entertainment, I departed from him. From thence returning to my lodging, I spent three or four days afterwards in seeing the manner of the French discipline in making approaches to towns ; at what time I remember, that going in my coach within reach of cannon, those in the town imagining me to be an enemy, made many shots against me, which so affrighted my coachman that he durst drive no farther, whereupon alighting, I bid him put the horses out of danger ; and notwithstanding many more shots were made against me, went on to the trenches, where one Seaton, a Scotchman, conducting me, shewed me their works, in which I found little differing from the Low Countrey manner. Having satisfied myself in this manner, I thought fit to take my leave of the king being at Cognac, the city of St Jean d'Angely being now surrendered unto him ; coming thus to a village not far from Cognac, about ten of the clock at night, I found all the lodgings possessed by souldiers, so that alighting in the market-place, I sent my servants to the inns to get some provision, who bringing me only six rye loaves, which I was doubtfull whether I shou'd bestow on myself and company, or on my horses, monsieur de Ponts, a French nobleman of the religion, attended with a brave train, hearing of my being there, offer'd me lodging in his castle near adjoining : I told him it was a great courtesie at that time, yet I could not with my honor accept it, since I knew it wou'd indanger him, my business to those parts being in favour of those of the religion, and the chief ministers of state in France being jealous of my holding intelligence with him ; howbeit, if he wou'd procure me lodging in the town, I should take it kindly. Whereupon sending his servants round about the town, he found at last in the house of one of his tenants a chamber, to which when he had conducted me, and together gotten some litle accommodation for myself and horses, I desired him to depart to his lodgings, he being then in a

place which his enemies, the king's souldiers, had possessed : all which was not so silently carried, but that the said nobleman was accused afterwards at the French court upon suspicion of holding correspondence with me, whereof it was my fortune to clear him.

Coming next day to Cognac, the mareschall de St Geran, my noble friend, privately met me, and said I was not in a place of surety there, as having offended monsieur de Luines, who was the king's favorite, desiring me withall to advise what I had to do : I told him I was in a place of surety wheresover I had my sword by my side, and that I intended to demand audience of the king ; which also being obtained, I found not so cold a reception as I thought to meet with ; insomuch that I parted with his majesty to all outward appearance in very good terms.

From hence returning to Paris shortly after, I found myself welcome to all those ministers of state there and noblemen, who either envied the greatness, or loved not the insolencies of monsieur de Luines ; by whom also I was told, that the said Luines had intended to send a brother of his into England with an ambassy, the effect whereof shou'd be chiefly to complain against me, and to obtain that I should be repeal'd ; and that he intended to relate the passages betwixt us at St Jean d'Angely in a much different manner from that I reported, and that he wou'd charge me with giving the first offence. After thanks for this advertisement, I told them, my relation of the business betwixt us, in the manner I delivered, was true, and that I wou'd justifie it with my sword, at which they being nothing scandalized, wished me good fortune.

The ambassador into England following shortly after, with a huge train in a sumptuous manner, and an accusation fram'd against me, I was sent for home, of which I was glad, my payment being so ill, that I was run far into debt with my merchants, who had assisted me now with 3 or 4000*l.* more than I was able at the present to discharge. Coming thus to court, the duke of Buckingham, who was then my noble friend, informed me at large of

the objections represented by the French ambassador ; to which, when I had made my defence in the manner above related, I added that I was ready to make good all that I had said with my sword ; and shortly after I did in the presence of his majesty and the duke of Buckingham, humbly desire leave to send a trumpet to monsieur de Luines, to offer him the combat upon terms that past betwixt us ; which was not permitted, otherwise than that they would take my offer into consideration. Howsoever, notice being publickly taken of this my desire, much occasion of speech was given, every man that heard thereof much favouring me, but the duke of Luines' death following shortly after, the business betwixt us was ended, and I, commanded to return to my former charge in France. I did not yet presently go, as finding much difficulty to obtain the moneys due to me from the exchequer, and therewith, as also by my own revenues, to satisfie my creditors in France. The earl of Carlisle this while being employed extraordinary ambassador to France, brought home a confirmation of the passages betwixt monsieur de Luines and myself ; monsieur de Arnaud, who stood behind the hangings, as above related, having verified all I said, insomuch that the king my master was well satisfied of my truth.

Having by this time cleared all my debts, when demanding new instructions from the king my master, the earl of Carlisle brought me this message, " That his majesty had that experience of my abilities and fidelity, that he wou'd give me no instructions, but leave all things to my discretion, as knowing I wou'd proceed with that circumspection, as I shou'd be better able to discern, upon emergent occasions, what was fit to be done, than that I shou'd need to attend directions from hence ; which, besides that they wou'd be slow, might perchance be not so proper, or correspondent to the

\* James Hay earl of Carlile, knight of the garter, master of the great wardrobe, and ambassador in Germany and France.

conjuncture of the great affairs then in agitation both in France and Germany, and other parts of christendom, and that these things therefore must be left to my vigilance, prudence, and fidelity." Whereupon I told his lordship, that I took this as a singular expression of the trust his majesty reposed in me; howbeit that I desired his lordship to pardon me, if I said I had herein only received a greater power and latitude to err; and that I durst not trust my judgment so far as that I wou'd presume to answer for all events, in such factious and turbulent times, and therefore again did humbly desire new instructions, which I promised punctually to follow. The earl of Carlisle returning hereupon to the king, brought me yet no other answer back than that I formerly mention'd, and that his majesty did so much confide in me, that he would limit me with no other instructions, but refer all to my discretion, promising together, that if matters proceeded not as well as might be wisht, he wou'd attribute the default to any thing rather than to my not performing my duty.

Finding his majesty thus resolved, I humbly took leave of him, and my friends at court, and went to monsieur Savage, when demanding of him new letters of credit, his answer was, "He cou'd not furnish me as he had before, there being no limited sum expressed there, but that I shou'd have as much as I needed;" to which, tho' I answered that I had paid all, yet as monsieur Savage replied that I had not paid it at the time agreed on, he said he cou'd furnish me with a letter only for three thousand pounds, and nevertheless that he was confident I shou'd have more if I required it, which I found true, for I took up afterwards upon my credit there as much more, as made in the whole five or six thousand pounds.

Coming thus to Paris, I found myself welcomed by all the principal persons, no body that I found there being either offended with the passages betwixt me and monsieur de Luines, or that were sorry for his death, in which number the queen's majesty seemed the most eminent person, as one who long since had hated him.

whereupon also, I cannot but remember this passage, that in an audience I had one day from the queen, I demanded of her how far she wou'd have assisted me with her good offices against Luines? She replied, that what cause soever she might have to hate him, either by reason or by force, they wou'd have made her to be of his side; to which I answered in Spanish, "No ay feurce por las a Reynas; There is no force for queens;" at which she smiled.

And now I began to proceed in all publick affairs according to the liberty with which my master was pleased to honor me, confining myself to no rules but those of my own discretion. My negotiations in the mean while proving so successfull, that, during the remainder of my stay there, his majesty receiv'd much satisfaction concerning my carriage, as finding I had preserved his honor and interest in all great affairs then emergent in France, Germany, and other parts of Christendom; which work being of great concernment, I found the easier, that his majesties ambassadors and agents every where gave me perfect intelligence of all that happened within their precincts; insomuch that from sir Henry Wotton, his majesty's ambassador at Venice, who was a learned and witty gentleman, I received all the news of Italy; as also from sir Isaak Wake, who did more particularly acquaint me with the business of Savoy, \*Valentina, and Switzerland; from sir Francis Nethersole, his majesty's agent in Germany, and more particularly with the united princes there, on the behalf of his son in law, the palatine or king of Bohemia, I receiv'd all the news of Germany; from sir Dudley Carlton, his majesty's ambassador in the Low Countryes, I receiv'd intelligence concerning all the affairs of that state; and from Mr William Trumball, his majesty's agent at Brussels, all the affairs on that side; and lastly, from sir Walter Aston, his majesty's ambassador in Spain, and after him from the earl of Bristol and lord Cottington, I had

\* The Valteline.



intelligence from the Spanish court; cut of all whose relations, being compared together, I found matter enough to direct my judgment in all publick proceedings: besides, in Paris I had the chief intelligence which came to either monsieur de Langherac, the Low Countrey ambassador, or monsieur Postek, agent for the united princes in Germany, and sigr Contarini, ambassador for Venice, and sigr Guiscardi, my particular friend, agent for Mantoua, and monsieur Gueretin, agent for the palatine or king of Bohemia, and monsieur Villers, for the Suisse, and monsieur Ainorant, agent for Geneva, by whose means, upon the resultance of the several advertisements given me, I found what I had to do.

The wars in Germany were now hot, when several French gentlemen came to me for recommendations to the queen of Bohemia, whose service they desired to advance, which also I performed as effectually as I cou'd; howbeit, as after the battle of Prague, the imperial side seemed wholly to prevail, these gentlemen had not the satisfaction expected. About this time, the duke de Crouy, imployed from Brussels to the French court, coming to see me, said, by way of rhodomontade, as thò he wou'd not speak of our isles, yet he saw all the rest of the world must bow under the Spaniard; to which I answered, "God be thanked they are not yet come to that pass, or when they were, they have this yet to comfort them, that at worst they shou'd be but the same which you are now;" which speech of mine being afterwards, I know not how, divulged, was much applauded by the French, as believing I intended that other countreys shou'd be but under the same severe government to which the duke of Crouy and those within the Spanish dominions were subject.

It hap'n'd one day, that the agent from Brussels, and ambassador from the Low Countreys, came to see me immediately one after the other, to whom I said familiarly, that I thought that the inhabitants of the parts of the seventeen provinces which were under

the Spaniards, might be compared to horses in a stable, which, as they were finely curried, drest and fed, so they were well ridden also, spurred and galled : and that I thought the Low Countrey men were like to horses at grass, which thó they wanted so good keeping as the other had, yet might leap, kick, and fling, as much as they wou'd ; which freedom of mine displeased neither : or if the Low Country ambassador did think I had spoken a little too sharply, I pleased him afterwards, when continuing my discourse, I told him that the states of the united provinces had within a narrow room shut up so much warlike provision both by sea and land, and together demonstrated such courage upon all occasions, that it seemed they had more need of enemies than of friends, which complement I found did please him.

About this time, the French being jealous that the king my master wou'd match the prince his son with the king of Spain's sister, and together relinquish his alliance with France, myself, who did endeavour nothing more than to hold all good intelligence betwixt the two crowns, had enough to do. The count de Gondomor, passing now from Spain into England, came to see me at Paris, about ten of the clock in the morning, when, after some complements, he told me that he was to go towards England the next morning, and that he desired my coach to accompany him out of town ; I told him after a free and merry manner he should not have my coach, and that if he demanded it, it was not because he needed coaches, the pope's nuncio, the emperor's ambassador, the duke of Bavaria's agent, and others having coaches enough to furnish him, but because he wou'd put a jealousy betwixt me and the French, as if I inclined more to the Spanish side than to theirs : Gondomor then looking merrily upon me, said, " I will dine with you yet ; " I told him, by his good favor, he shou'd not dine with me at that time, and that when I wou'd entertain the ambassador of so great a king as his, it shou'd not be upon my ordinary, but that I wou'd make him a feast worthy of

so great a person ; howbeit, that he might see after what manner I lived, I desired some of my gentlemen to bring his gentlemen into the kitchen, where, after my usual manner, were three spits full of meat, divers pots of boyled meat, and an oven with store of pies in it, and a dresser board covered with all manner of good fowle, and some tarts, pans with tarts in them, after the French manner ; after which, being conducted to another room, they were showed a dozen or sixteen dishes of sweetmeats, all which was but the ordinary allowance for my table : the Spaniards returning now to Gondomor told him what good cheer they found, notwithstanding which, I told Gondomor again that I desired to be excused, if I thought this dinner unworthy of him, and that when occasion were, I shou'd entertain him after a much better manner ; Gondomor hereupon, coming near me, said, he esteemed me much, and that he meant only to put a trick upon me, which he found I had discover'd, and that he thought that an Englishman had not known how to avoid handsomely a trick put upon him under shew of civility ; and that I ever shou'd find him my friend, and would do me all the good offices he cou'd in England, which also he really perform'd, as the duke of Lenox and the earle of Pembrook confirm'd to me ; Gondomor saying to them, that I was a man fit for imployment, and that he thought Englishmen, tho otherwise able persons, knew not how to make a denial handsomely, which yet I had done.

This Gondomor being an able person, and dexterous in his negotiations, had so prevailed with king James, that his majesty resolved to pursue his treaty with Spain, and for that purpose to send his son, prince Charles, in person to conclude the match ; when, after some debate whether he shou'd go in a publick or private manner, it was at last resolved, that he, attended with the marquis of Buckingham, and sir Francis Cottington, his secretary, and Endimion Porter, and Mr Grimes, gentleman of the horse to the marquis, shou'd pass in a disguised and private manner through France

to Madrid ; these five passing, thò not without some difficulty, from Dover to Bulloigne, where taking post horses they came to Paris, and lodged at an inn in Rue St Jacques, where it was advised amongst them whether they shou'd send for me to attend them ; after some dispute, it was concluded in the negative, since (as one there objected) if I came alone in the quality of a private person, I must go on foot through the streets, and because I was a person generally known, might be followed by some one or other, who wou'd discover whither my private visit tended, besides that those in the inn must needs take notice of my coming in that manner ; on the other side, if I came publicly with my usual train, the gentlemen with me must needs take notice of the prince and marquiss of Buckingham, and consequently might divulge it, which was thought not to stand with the prince's safety, who endeavour'd to keep his journey as secret as possible : howbeit, the prince spent the day following his arrival in seeing the French court and city of Paris, without that any body did know his person, but a maid that had sold linen heretofore in London, who seeing him pass by, said, " Certainly this is the prince of Wales," but withal suffered him to hold his way, and presumed not to follow him : the next day after, they took post horses, and held their way towards Bayone, a city frontier to Spain.

The first notice that came to me was by one Andrews, a Scotchman, who, coming late the night preceding their departure, demanded whether I had seen the prince ? When I demanded what prince ? " for," said I, " the prince of Condé is yet in Italy ;" he told me, the prince of Wales, which yet I could not believe easily, untill with many oaths he affirmed the prince was in France, and that he had charge to follow his highness, desiring me in the mean while, on the part of the king my master, to serve his passage the best I cou'd. This made me rise very early the next morning, and go to monsieur Puisieux, principal secretary of state, to demand present audience ; Puisieux hereupon intreated

he to stay an hour since he was in bed, and had some earnest business to dispatch for the king his master as soon as he was ready ; I returned answer, that I cou'd not stay a minute, and that I desired I might come to his bedside : this made Puisieux rise and put on his gown only, and so came to the chamber, where I attended him. His first words to me were, " I know your business as well as you, your prince is departed this morning post to Spain ;" adding farther, that I cou'd demand nothing for the security of his passage, but it shou'd be presently granted, concluding with these very words, " Vous serez servi au point nommé ; or, You shall be served in any particular you can name." I told him, that his free offer had prevented the request I intended to make, and that, because he was so principal a minister of state, I doubted not but what he had so nobly promised he wou'd see punctually performed ; as for the security of his passage, that I did not see what I cou'd demand more, than that he wou'd suffer him quietly to hold his way, without sending after or interrupting him. He replied, that the prince shou'd not be interrupted, tho' yet he cou'd do no less than send to know what success the prince had in his journey. I was no sooner return'd out of his chamber, but I dispatch't a letter by post to the prince, to desire him to make all the hast he cou'd out of France, and not to treat with any of the religion in the way, since his being at Paris was known, and, that tho' the French secretary had promised he shou'd not be interrupted, yet that they wou'd send after his highness, and when he gave any occasion of suspicion, might perchance detain him. The prince, after some examination at Bayone, (which the governor thereof did afterwards particularly relate to me, confessing that he did not know who the prince was,) held his way on to Madrid, where he and all his company safely arrived. Many of the nobility and others of the English court being now desirous to see the prince, did pass through France to Spain, taking my house still in their way, by whom, I acquainted his highness in Spain how much

it grieved me that I had not seen his highness when he was in Paris ; which occasioned his highness afterwards to write a letter to me, wholly with his own hand, and subscribe his name "your friend Charles," in which he did abundantly satisfy all the unkindness I might conceive on this occasion.

I shall not enter into a narration of the passages occurring in the Spanish court, upon his highness's arrival thither, tho' they were well known to me for the most part, by the information the French queen was pleased to give me, who, among other things, told me that her sister did wish well unto the prince. I had from her also intelligence of certain messages sent from Spain to the pope, and the pope's messages to them ; whereof, by her permission, I did afterwards inform his highness. Many judgments were now made concerning the event, which this treaty of marriage was likely to have ; the duke of Savoy said that the prince's journey thither was, "Un tiro Ji quelli cavallieri antichi che andavano cosi per il mondo a diffare li incanti ; That it was a trick of those ancient knight errands, who went up and down the world after that manner to undoe enchantments ;" for, as that duke did believe that the Spaniard did intend finally to bestow her on the imperial house, he conceiv'd that he did only entertain the treaty with England, because he might avert the king my master from treating in any other place, and particularly in France ; howbeit, by the intelligence I received in Paris, which I am confident was very good, I am assured the Spaniard meant really at that time, tho' how the match was broken, I list not here to relate, it being a more perplext and secret business than I am willing to insert into the narration of my life.

New propositions being now made, and other counsells thereupon given, the prince taking his leave of the Spanish court, came to St Andrew's in Spain, where, shipping himself with his train, arrived safely at Portsmouth, about the beginning of October 1623 ; the news whereof being shortly brought into France, the duke of

Guise came to me, and said he found the Spaniards were not so able men as he thought, since they had neither married the prince in their country, nor done any thing to break his match elsewhere; I answered, that the prince was more dexterous than that any secret practice of theirs cou'd be put upon him; and as for violence, I thought the Spaniard durst not offer it.

The war against those of the religion continuing in France, pere Segnerand, confessor to the king, made a sermon before his majesty upon the text, "That we shou'd forgive our enemies;" upon which argument, having said many good things, he at last distinguished forgiveness, and said, "We were indeed to forgive our enemies, but not the enemies of God, such as were hereticks, and particularly those of the religion; and that his majesty, as the most christian king, ought to extirpate them wheresoever they cou'd be found." This particular being related to me, I thought fit to go to the queen mother without farther ceremony, for she gave me leave to come to her chamber whensoever I wou'd, without demanding audience, and to tell her, that tho I did not usually intermeddle with matters handled within their pulpits, yet because pere Segnerand, who had the charge of the king's conscience, had spoken so violently against those of the religion, that his doctrine was not limited only to France, but might extend itself in its consequences beyond the seas, even to the dominions of the king my master; I cou'd not but think it very unreasonable, and the rather, that as her majesty well knew, that a treaty of marriage betwixt our prince and the princess her daughter was now began, for which reason I cou'd do no less than humbly desire that such doctrines as these henceforth might be silenced, by some discreet admonition she might be pleased to give to pere Segnerand, or others that might speak to this purpose. The queen, tho she seemed very willingly to hear me, yet handled the business so, that pere Segnerand was together inform'd who had made this complaint against him, whereupon also he was so distemper'd, that by one monsieur Gaellac, a Provencall,

his own countryman, he sent me this message ; “ That he knew well who had accused him to her majesty, and that he was sensible thereof; that he wisht me to be assured, that wheresoever I was in the world he wou’d hinder my fortune.” The answer I returned by monsieur Gaellac was, “ That nothing in all France, but a fryar or a woman, durst have sent me such a message.”

Shortly after this, coming again to the queen mother I told her that what I said concerning pere Segnerand, was spoken with a good intention, and that my words were now discovered to him in that manner, that he sent me a very affronting message, adding after a merry fashion these words, that I thought Segnerand so malicious, that his malice was beyond the malice of women : the queen being a little startled hereat, sayed, “ A moy femme et parler ainsi ? To me a woman and say so ? ” I replied gently, “ Je parle a v<sup>otre</sup> majesté comme reyne et non pas comme femme ; I speak to your majesty as a queen and not as a woman,” and so took my leave of her. What pere Segnerand did afterwards, in way of performing his threat, I know not ; but sure I am, that had I been ambitious of worldly greatness, I might have often remembered his words ; thô, as I ever loved my book and a private life, more than any busie preferments, I did frustrate, and render vain his greatest power to hurt me.

My book “ *De Veritate prout distinguitur à Revelatione verisimili, possibili, et à falso,*” having been begun by me in England, and formed there in all its principal parts, was about this time finished ; all the spare hours which I cou’d get from my visits and negotiations, being employed to perfect this work, which was no sooner done, but that I communicated it to Hugo Grotius, that great scholar, who, having escaped his prison in the Low Countreys, came into France, and was much welcomed by me and monsieur Tieleners\* also, one of the

\* In the little book of lord Herbert’s verses, published after his death, is a copy addressed “ To Tilenus after the fatal defluxion upon my arm.” Daniel Tilenus was a theologic writer of that time. He wrote about Antichrist :



greatest scholars of his time, who, after they had perused it, and given it more commendations than is fit for me to repeat, exhorted me earnestly to print and publish it; howbeit, as the frame of my whole book was so different from any thing which had been written heretofore, I found I must either renounce the authority of all that had written formerly, concerning the method of finding out truth, and consequently insist upon my own way, or hazard myself to a general censure, concerning the whole argument of my book; I must confess it did not a little animate me, that the two great persons above-mentioned did so highly value it, yet as I knew it wou'd meet with much opposition, I did consider whether it was not better for me for a while to suppress it. Being thus doubtfull in my chamber, one fair day in the summer, my casement being opened towards the south, the sun shining clear and no wind stirring, I took my book "De Veritate" in my hand, and kneeling on my knees devoutly said these words:—

"O thou eternal God, author of the light which now shines upon me, and giver of all inward illuminations, I do beseech thee of thy infinite goodness to pardon a greater request than a sinner ought to make; I am not satisfied enough whether I shall publish this book 'De Veritate;' if it be for thy glory, I beseech thee give me some sign from heaven; if not I shall suppress it."

I had no sooner spoken these words, but a loud tho yet gentle noise came from the heavens (for it was like nothing on earth) which did so comfort and cheer me, that I took my petition as granted, and that I had the sign I demanded, whereupon also I resolved to print my book. This (how strange soever it may seem) I protest before the eternal God is true, neither am I any way superstitiously deceived herein, since I did not only

and animadversions on the Synod of Dort: some of his works were published at Paris. He was, however, a Silesian, and his true name might be Tieleners, latinized into Tilenus, according to the pedantry of that time; as Groot was called Grotius, the similitude of whose studies might well connect him with Tieleners

clearly hear the noise, but in the serenest skye that ever I saw, being without all cloud, did to my thinking see the place from whence it came.

And now I sent my book to be printed in Paris, at my own cost and charges, without suffering it to be divulged to others than to such as I thought might be worthy readers of it; tho afterwards reprinting it in England, I not only dispersed it among the prime scholars of Europe, but was sent to, not only from the nearest, but farthest parts of christendome, to desire the sight of my book, for which they promised any thing I shou'd desire by way of return, but hereof more amply in its place.

The treaty of a match with France continuing still, it was thought fit for the concluding thereof, that the earle of Carlisle and the earle of Holland should be sent extraordinary ambassadors to France.

## SEQUEL.

THE very characteristic narrative of lord Herbert concludes at this place; for, although he more especially proposed to give an account of the transactions which took place during his residence at the court of France, he seems never to have fulfilled his intention. As nearly twenty years of one of the most important periods in English history elapsed between the time at which his autobiography ceases, and that when he began to compose it, his abrupt termination of his memoirs is much to be regretted. Whether his proceeding no farther arose from choice or necessity, it is now difficult to ascertain; but looking to the import of the following letter, addressed to his brother sir Henry Herbert, within two years, or perhaps one, from the time when he began to write his history, it is probable that a sudden and rapid decay of health deprived posterity of a continuation of his interesting labours.

FROM EDWARD LORD HERBERT TO SIR HENRY HERBERT.

Sir Henry,

The business I intended by you I have dispatched another way. I am thinking of a journey to the Spaw; but I doubt how I shall be able to go, my body being more infirm than to endure any labour. And let me assure you, I finde myselfe grown older in this one yeare than in fifty-nine yeares before; which, as it is true, I should bee glad were knowne among the best of those to whom you go. I shall pray for a good and speedy end to all those troubles: and in particular, that God would guide those who are now met. And here I must remember, that of all of us, there remains

now but you and I to brother it. I pray you remember my kind love to your lady, and all yours. So I rest,

Your faithfull loving brother,

Mossley C., 14th June, 1644.

HERBERT.

*To the right worthy sir Henry Herbert, knight, at his house near Bewdley, Ribsford, S. S.*

Deprived of all farther assistance from his own pen, nothing can be furnished in relation to his after life, beyond a few brief notices, collected from the usual public and incidental sources. According to these, we learn that, agreeably to his singular interpretation of the will of heaven, he published his "*De Veritate*," at Paris, in 1624; and returned to England on the appointment of the special embassy, to conclude the inauspicious union between Charles prince of Wales and Henrietta Maria of France. In 1625, he was created an Irish peer, by the title of lord Herbert of Castle Island, and in 1631, a peer of England by that of lord Herbert, baron Herbert of Cherbury in Shropshire. Little more was, for some time after, heard of him in public life; and as he hints in his memoirs at disappointments, it is probable that, after the assassination of his friend, the duke of Buckingham, he lost his interest at court. He seems to have chiefly occupied himself in study during his retirement, which is certainly the most dignified mental refuge of disappointed ambition, although seldom sincerely resorted to by warriors or statesmen.

When the differences broke out between Charles the first and the parliament, lord Herbert appears, in the first instance, to have interested himself in favour of the king, in whose behalf he made a speech, which gave great offence to the Commons. He subsequently, however, like many other honourable and intellectual characters, supported the parliament, on which account he became a great sufferer from the vengeance of the royalists. He attended the army of the parliament into Scotland, in 1639, but we hear nothing farther of any active part taken by him, or, indeed, any thing more of

him in relation to public affairs, except that he received composition for his castle of Montgomery, the demolition of which was deemed expedient by the ascendant party. In 1643, he was living in retirement on his estate, as appears from another letter addressed to sir Henry Herbert, which is here inserted, in order to show the troubles endured, even in places where the war was not immediately waged, in consequence of the political conflicts of the times.

FROM EDWARD LORD HERBERT TO SIR HENRY HERBERT.

Sir Henry,

Though the messenger brought no letter from you to myselfe, yet because hee tould mee you were well, the welcome news thereof in these troublesome times invites me to congratulate it with you. If it had pleased R. Wittingham to have tould you that I had stone horses in my lower parke, and no grasse in my upper parke (as he tould mee he would), there had been no occasion for you to demand that I could not conveniently do: but if you send a gelding or two untill Michaelmas, they shall bee received. Wee are here almost in as great straits as if the warre were amongst us. Shrewsbury, which is our ordinary magazine, being exhausted of wine, vinegar, hops, paper, and pepper at four shillings the pound; and shortly, a want of all commodities that are not native with us will follow, the intercourse between us and London being interdicted. My dear and only brother, I wish you all health and happiness, and so rest, though much broken in my health,

Your faithfull lovinge brother;

25th Aug. 1643.

E. HERBERT.\*

My kind remembrance to your lady and children.

It has been already shown, that the originally strong constitution of lord Herbert gave way at a comparatively early period. He does not mention the date of his birth; but, as he states his age to have been eighteen

\* Warner's Epist. Curios.

or nineteen on his coming to London in 1600, and Wood observes, that he was entered as gentleman commoner at University College, Oxford, in 1595, his birth must have taken place in 1581, so that he was only sixty-two when he speaks of his great debility to his brother. He however lived until 1648, in which year he died at his house in Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, at the age of sixty-seven. When on his death-bed, he sent for lord primate Usher of Ireland, then resident in a state of deprivation in London, and would have received the sacrament, saying indifferently of it, that if it produced no good it could do no harm.\* The primate, on this intimation, did not think fit to comply with his request; on which lord Herbert, having inquired the time of day, said, "An hour hence I shall depart," and turning his head on the other side expired with great serenity. He was buried at St Giles's in the Fields, where a monument, since destroyed by fire, was placed over his remains, on which was placed the following epitaph, said by Aubrey to be from the pen of lord Stanhope.

*Hic inhumatur corpus Edvardi Herbert equitis Balnei, baronis de Cherbury et Castle Island, auctoris libri, cui titulus est, 'De Veritate.' Reddor ut herbæ; vicesimo die Augusti anno Domini 1648.*

According to Lloyd, lord Herbert designed a monument of his own invention for the church of Montgomery, which the author in question describes as follows:

"Upon the ground a hath-piece of fourteen foot square, on the midst of which is placed a Doric column, with its right of pedestal basis, and capitols of fifteen foot in height; on the capitol of the colum is mounted an urn with a heart flamboul, supported by two angels. The foot of this column is attended with four angels, placed on pedestals at each corner of the said hath-pace; two having torches reverst, extin-

\* Although a latitudinarian, he was no bigot to his own opinions, as he had prayers read twice, and would have his chaplain read one of Smyth's sermons every Sunday.

guishing the motto of mortality; the other two holding up palms, the emblems of victory."

The following "Epitaph for himself," appears in his own occasional verses. It displays the same Platonic spirit of devotion which characterises his "De Veritate."

"READER, -

"The monument which thou beholdest here,  
Presents Edward, Lord Herbert, to thy sight;  
A man, who was so free from either hope or fear,  
To have or lose this ordinary light,  
That when to elements his body turned were,  
He knew that as those elements would fight,  
So his immortal soul should find above  
With his Creator, peace, joy, truth, and love!"

Lord Herbert was succeeded by his son Richard lord Herbert, and the latter by his son Edward lord Herbert, who died in 1691, and was buried by the side of his grandfather. In the latter, the title became extinct, but was revived in 1694 in Henry Herbert of Ribbesford, son of his brother sir Henry Herbert, as explained by lord Orford's preface.

The following is a brief account of the works of lord Herbert, including such as were published posthumously by his friends.

"De Veritate, prout distinguitur à Revelatione, à verisimili, à possibili, et à falso. Cui Operi additi sunt duo alii tractatus; primus de Causis Errorum; alter, de Religione Laici. Unà cum Appendice ad Sacerdotes de Religione Laici; et quibusdam poematibus." Paris 1624, and 1633, and London, 1645.

The singular inconsistency of lord Herbert, who was induced to publish a book, designed to question the probability or truth of any communication from the Deity, on the strength of a supposed miraculous revelation of the will of the Deity that he should do so, has necessarily produced animadversion from various writers. The remark of lord Orford, in his "Royal and Noble Authors," is as follows:—"There is no stronger characteristic of human nature than its being open to the grossest contradictions; one of lord Her-

bert's chief arguments against revealed religion, is the improbability that heaven should reveal its will to only a portion of the earth, which he terms *particular* religion. How could a man who doubted of *partial*, believe in individual revelation?"—Other observers have asserted, that lord Herbert's book is so strongly imbued with the light of revelation in relation to the moral virtues, and to a future state, that no man, ignorant of the Scriptures or of Christianity, could have written it. Such an admission is conclusive as to the high moral tone of this extraordinary production; and his "thorough belief and awful veneration of the Deity," to repeat the words of lord Orford, is evident from the whole of his works. There is, in fact, a Platonic elevation in all his allusions to man and his connection with the first cause, which is very remarkable. The work "*De Veritate*" was replied to by Leland, Baxter, Gassendi, Haliburton, and Locke, the latter of whom allows him to be a man of parts. Lord Herbert was assisted in Latinizing it by Thomas Master, "who was esteemed," says Anthony Wood, "a vast scholar, a general artist and linguist, a noted poet, and most florid preacher." This learned personage, who also assisted lord Herbert in his "*History of Henry the Eighth*," died in 1643 at Oxford, of the same malignant fever which carried off Edmund Cartwright, and was honoured by his patron with a Latin epitaph. In 1639, the work "*De Veritate*" was also translated into French.

"*De Religione Gentilium, Errorumque apud eos causis.*" The first part of which was printed in 1645, 8vo, and the whole in 1663, 4to, and another edition in 8vo appearing in 1700. It was translated into English by Mr William Lewis, under the title of "*The Ancient Religion of the Gentiles, and the Causes of their Errors considered. The mistakes and failures of the heathen priests and wise men in their notions of the Deity, and matters of divine worship, are examined with regard to their being destitute of divine revelation.*" 1705, 8vo.



"*Expeditio Buckinghami Ducis in Ream Insulam*," published by Timothy Baldwin, LL.D. 1656, London, 8vo.

"*Life and Reign of Henry the Eighth*." London 1649, 1672, and 1682. The last edition, according to Wood, was collated with the original manuscript deposited in the Bodleian Library by the author. The life of Henry the eighth was undertaken at the command of James the first, and in point of composition is esteemed one of the best historical works in the language. The English style of lord Herbert is strong, manly, and free from the pedantry which infected the age. It is to be regretted that, in other respects, it is rather a panegyric and an apology, than a fair representation; a fact which may be owing to its being written at royal solicitation, although not being printed until long after the death of James, and some time after that of the author himself, there could be little necessity for reserve. "It is strange," says lord Orford, "that writing a man's life should generally make the biographer enamoured of his subject; whereas, one should think, the nicer disquisition one makes into the life of any man, the less reason one should find to love or admire him." In another place he however calls the life of Henry the eighth a masterpiece of historic biography; and bishop Nicolson, in his *Historical Library*, gives it similar praise. With respect to the partiality of lord Herbert to his subject, it is the less extraordinary, as, in spite of all his sanguinary and headstrong impetuosity, Henry the eighth was never completely out of favour with the subjects over whom he so despotically domineered: and in more than one recent work a strong disposition to advance his historical character has been anxiously manifested.\* Of the anxiety of lord Herbert to be correct in this production, a notable instance is afforded by Anthony Wood, who mentions as lying before him four thick folio volumes, entitled

\* See Galt's *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, and still more particularly, the recently published *Reign of Henry the eighth* by Mr Sharon Turner.

"Collectaneorum lib. secundus," selected by his industrious assistant, Thomas Master, from Parliamentary Rolls, the Paper Office at Whitehall, Vicar General's Office, books belonging to the Clerks of the Council, Cottonian MSS, Books of Convocation of the Clergy, and printed Authors. These and other historical collections of lord Herbert, are preserved in the library of Jesus College, Oxford.

"Occasional Verses of Edward Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbury and Castle Island, who deceased in 1648." London, 1665, 8vo. These were published by Henry Herbert his younger son, and dedicated by the latter to his nephew Edward lord Herbert, the grandson of the author.

As a poet, lord Herbert claims little merit, the above volume of "Occasional Verses," which is now very scarce, consisting chiefly of love verses, in the misty, metaphysical style of the period. Like many more of the class, they are sometimes ingenious, but always unnatural, the Platonism of the sentiment, being often strangely contrasted with the coarseness of the expression; to which is also to be added a strong tinge of the mental eccentricity of the author. The two following specimens are selected by Mr Park, in his edition of lord Orford's "Royal and Noble Authors."

#### TO A YOUNG PALE BEAUTY.

From thy pale look, while angry love doth seem  
 With more imperiousness to give his law,  
 Than where he blushing doth beg esteem;  
 We may observe tried beauty in such awe,  
 That the brav'st colour under her command  
 Affrighted, oft before you doth retire;  
 While, like a statue of yourself you stand  
 In such symetrique form, as doth require  
 No lustre but its own; as then, in vain,  
 One should flesh colouring to statues add.  
 So were it to your native white a stain  
 'If it in other ornaments were clad,  
 Than what your rich proportions do give,  
 Which in a boundless fair being unconfin'd,

Exalted in your soul, so seem to live,  
 That they become an emblem of your mind ;  
 That so, who to your orient white should join  
 Those fading qualities most eyes adore,  
 Were but like one who, gilding silver coin,  
 Gave but occasion to suspect it more.

TO HIS WATCH, WHEN HE COULD NOT SLEEP

Uncessant minutes, whilst you move, you tell  
 The time that tells our life, which, though it run  
 Never so fast or far, your new begun  
 Short steps shall overtake : for though life well  
 May 'scape his own account, it shall not yours.  
 You are death's auditors, that both divide  
 And sum whate'er that life inspir'd endures,  
 Past a beginning ; and through you we bide  
 The doom of fate, whose unrecal'd decree  
 You date, bring, execute ; making what's new,  
 Ill ; and good, old ; for as we die in you,  
 You die in time, time in eternity.

Many of lord Herbert's poems may be found in Sylvester's "*Lachrymæ Lachrymarum* ; or the Spirit of Tears distilled by the untimely death of prince Henry," London, 1613, 4to, and in other publications of the age. The two Latin poems inserted in his life, together with a larger one entitled "*Hæred. ac Nepot. suis Præcepta et Consilia, E. B. H. de C. et C. J. de K.*" were printed in 1647 in a small tract, which may be found in the Bridgewater library.

To conclude with the works of lord Herbert, it may be observed that, in 1688, "*A Dialogue on Education*" was printed and attributed to his pen.

The advertisement of lord Orford to the first edition of the "*Life of Lord Herbert*," which we have reprinted at the commencement of this volume, precludes the necessity of any very formal summing up of his character, which, indeed, is too strongly marked in his memoirs to be much mistaken. They show him vain, punctilious, and fanciful ; but at the same time open, brave, and disinterested. Some suspicions have been entertained of his over colouring his chivalric propen-

sity to a reference to arms on every slight occasion, owing to the fact of all his differences falling short of duels, when, according to every appearance, personal encounters were scarcely to be avoided. It is not impossible that much of this might be owing to his commanding aspect, and acknowledged reputation, and a little more to a certain perception of the Quixote in his character, with which it might be deemed futile to contend. His surprising defence of himself against the attack of sir John Ayres, forcibly exhibits his personal strength and mastery, and his spirited treatment of the French minister Luyne, and the general esteem of his contemporaries,\* sufficiently attest his quick feeling of national and personal dignity, and general gallantry of bearing. As a public minister, historian, and philosopher, he also claims considerable distinction, in an age when the purely intellectual strength of the English character shone with extraordinary lustre. With very little abatement, therefore, the conclusion of lord Orford, in his "Royal and Noble Authors," may be fairly conceded, that "Edward lord Herbert of Cherbury may be regarded as one of the greatest ornaments of a learned peerage; a man of martial spirit, and of profound understanding."

The following letters may be given in this, as in the Edinburgh and other editions of lord Herbert's life, in order to exhibit the spirit and style of his

\* Poets may be suspected of hyperbole, but there is something in the tone of the following lines by Ben Jonson, which could not have been addressed to a common character.

If men get name, for some one virtue ; then,  
 What man art thou, that art so many men,  
 All-virtuous Herbert? on whose every part,  
 Truth might spend all her voice, fame all her art.  
 Whether thy learning they would take, or wit,  
 Or valour, or thy judgment seasoning it,  
 Thy standing upright to thyself, thy ends  
 Like straight, thy piety to God, and friends :  
 Their later praise would still the greatest be,  
 And yet they all together, less than thee.

diplomacy. The first two show the anxiety of France to prevent the matrimonial alliance between England and Spain, by what may be termed the absolute proffer of the princess Henrietta Maria, who, in respect to her indifference to religion, and submission to her future husband's will, is made to speak much like a maiden who wishes to be married. It is scarcely necessary to add that her subsequent conduct was no way in the spirit of her profession.

TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

*Right Honourable and Right Worthy  
my Lord Marquis,*

Since my writinge this offer, I understood the kinge passed neare this place, in his way to Compiègne in Picardy; this made me repaire to court, where I visited only M<sup>r</sup> de Luynes, who amonge other speeches, told mee they had given instructions to their ambassadour in England that if there were any overture made of a match for our prince with madame Henrietta, the king's sister, that it should bee received with all honour and affection: and (if I bee not mistaken in the meaning of his words) sayd so much was already insinuated by their sayd ambassadour: I answered him as civilly as I could, having no instructions to speake of any such thing, and came to the busines of Bohemia, wherein I desired to know how his M<sup>r</sup> stood affected. Hee tould me that hee had not yet leasure to consider the consequences, and that hee first desired to heare how the King my M<sup>r</sup> did declare himself. I tould him, his Ma<sup>ty</sup> did advise what was to be done; that in the meane while he did profess, that when hee sent his ambassadour to compose the differences of the empire, that hee knew nothing of the Palatine's election to the kingdom of Bohemia, or that there was any such designe; that besides his Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s protestation, which was an argument above all that could be made to the contrary, there were many reasons to persuade that even the Palatine's Highnes himselfe knew nothings of any such intention; as first, the unanimity of consent in

the Bohemians, which argues there was no faction or labouring of voices : secondly, the necessity, since they could not tell where else to putt themselves under protection : thirdly, that if it had been the Palatine's *Hignes* desire, that certainly he would have used both that and other means to prevent the election of K. Ferdinand to the empire ; this was the effect of the reasons I gave ; to which I added, that howsoever the King my M<sup>r</sup> did resolve, I hoped at least his M<sup>r</sup> would bee indifferent ; that they had no greatnes to feare but that of the house of Austria : that they might take this tyme to recover the countreyes detained from them ; that lastly, there was no other way, as matters now stand, to establish the peace of Christendom, since he might bee sure the untamed Germans would never submit themselves to other. Hee here seemed to hearken more to my reasons than to answer them, tould me all these matters should be referd to the king being at Compiègne ; whither he desired mee to come, which I promised ; as having the busines of the king's renewinge his *offer* to require ; I have written these particularities to Mr secretary *Nanton*, and attend your L<sup>dps</sup> further commandments, with the affection of

Your L<sup>dps</sup> most faithfull

Servant and Honorer,

HERBERT.

M. de Luynes doth much desire to hold correspondence with your L<sup>dsp</sup>, and desired mee to tell your L<sup>dsp</sup> so much ; I should bee glad to have leave to use a little compliment to him on your L<sup>dps</sup> part.

*Merlou, j of October, Stil. No. 1619.*

*My most good and gracious Sovereigne,*

I cannot refuse this gentleman the testimony hee desires mee to give your Sacred Majesty, that hee is your S. Mat<sup>ys</sup> most faithfull and most affectionate servant, which I think myselfe the rather bound to say, that for his beinge so, he seemes to have suffered no little hard measures from the bigot ministers of this state. But hee will best tell your S. Mat<sup>y</sup> the evil

usage they have given him, and my little power to remedy it, notwithstanding my manny remonstrances which might have obtained, if not a better, yet at least a truer answer from M<sup>sr</sup> de Puisieux, who was not ashamed to say, that M<sup>sr</sup> de Bellingam (this gentleman's pupil,) did put him away, when not only hee himselfe did know the contrary, but was assured wee knew it. But these are the ordinary effronteries of two or three of these ministers of state, to whom the answer of the instructions I receive from your S. Maty is referr'd, and with whom, unless I can take some such order as I have already done with Pere Arnoux, I shall not be able to perform that service, to your S. Maty in this place, which I desire. Ld. Buisson is returned, and as M<sup>sr</sup> Le Prince did tell mee, hath made a proposition to your S. Maty concerninge a marriage betwixt his Highnes and Madame Henrietta, to which hee says your S. Maty did answer, that your S. Maty did desire it too, but that your S. Maty was so farre ingaged with Spaine, that your S. Maty could not treat thereof; this M<sup>sr</sup> Le Prince told mee, and I thought it my duty to let your S. Maty know the report; on which occasion, I cannot omitt to tell your S. Maty that the match is generally desired by this nation and particularly by madame herselfe, who hath not only cast out many words to this purpose but, where there hath been question of diversity of religions, hath sayd, that a wife ought to have no will, but that of her husbands; which words, I confesse, have incited mee to do her this good office: for the rest, beinge so farre from having a voice, that I will not so much as have a thought, which is not warranted by your S. Matyes authority, which I hold in that infinite reverence, that, I am sorry I can say no more, then that I will live and dy

Your S. Matyes

Most obedient, most loyall, and most affectionate  
Subject and Servant,

HERBERT

*Paris, this 24 Aug. 1620.*

Another specimen will suffice; it is addressed to king James during the second embassy of the writer to France, and gives the substance of the opinions of the French politicians and others, on the romantic journey of prince Charles and the duke of Buckingham to Madrid; as also upon the proposed Spanish marriage altogether.

*My most gracious Sovereigne,*

Now that I thanke God for it, his highnes, accordinge to my continuall prayers, hath made a safe and happy returne unto your sacred majestie's presence, I think myselve bounde, by way of complete obedience to those commandements I received from your sacred majestie, both by Mr secretarie Calvert and my brother Henry, to give your sacred majestie an account of that sense which the generall sort of people doth entertaine here, concerninge the whole frame and contexte of his highnes voyage. It is agreed on all parts that his highnes must have received much contentment, in seeinge two great kingdomes, and consequently in enjoyinge that satisfaction which princes but rarely, and not without great perill obtain. His highnes discretion, diligence, and princely behavior every where, likewise is much praysed. Lastly, since his highnes journey hath fallen out so well, that his highnes is come back without any prejudice to his person or dignitie: they say the successe hath sufficiently commended the councell. This is the most common censure (even of the bigot party, as I am informed) which I approve in all, but in the last pointe, in the delivery whereof I finde somethinge to dislike, and therefore tell them, that thinges are not to be judged alone by the successe, and that when they would not looke so highe as God's providence, without which no place is secure, they might finde even in reason of state, so much, as might sufficiently warrante his highnes person, and libertie to returne.

I will come from the ordinarie voice, to the selecter judgment of the ministers of state, and more intelligent



people in this kingdome, who though they nothinge vary from the above-recited opinion, yet as more profoundly lookinge into the state of this longe-treated-of allyance betwixt your sacred majestie and Spaine, in the persons of his highnes and the infanta, they comprehend their sentence therof (as I am informed) in three propositions.

First, that the protestation, which the kinge of Spaine made to his highnes upon his departure, whereby he promised to chase away, and dis-favor all those who should oppose this marriage, doth extende no further, than to the sayd kinges servants, or at furthest, not beyonde the temporall princes his neighbours, so that the pope, beinge not included herin, it is thought his consent must bee yet obtained, and consequently that the business is in little more forwardnes than when it first beganne.

Secondly, that the pope will never yeeld his consent, unless your sacred majestie grante some notable privileges and advantage to the Roman Catholique religion in your sacred majestie's kingedomes.

Thirdly, that the sayd kinge of Spaine would never insiste upon obtaininge those privileges, but that hee more desires to forme a party in your sacred majestie's kingedomes, which he may keep always obsequious to his will, then to maintain a frendly correspondence betwixt your sacred majestie and himselfe. I must not, in the last place, omitte to acquaint your sacred majestie very particularly with the sense which was expressed by the bons Francois, and body of those of the religion, who hartily wishe that the same greatnes which the king of Spaine doth so affecte over all the worlde, and still maintaines even in this country, which is to bee protector of the jesuited and bigot partie, your sacred majestie would embrace in beeing defender of our faithe. The direct answer to which, though I evade, and therefore reply little more, then that this counceil was much fitter when the union in Germany did subsiste than at this tyme; yet do I think myselfe obliged to represente the affection they

deare unto your sacred majestie. This is as much as s come to my notice, concerninge that pointe your sacred majestie gave mee in charge, which therfore I nave plainly layd open before your sacred majestie's eyes, as understandinge well, that princes never receive greater wronge, then when the ministers they putte in truste do palliate and disguise those thinges which it concernes them to knowe. For the avoydinge wherof, let me take the boldnes to assure your sacred majestie that those of this king's counceill here will use all means they can, both to the king of Spaine, and to the pope, (in whom they pretend to have very particular interest) not only to interrupte, but yf it be possible, to breake off your sacred majestie's allyance with Spaine. For which purpose the count de Tillieres hath stricte commande to give eether all punctuall advise, that accordingly they may proceede. It rests that I most humbly beseech your sacred majestie to take my free relation of these particulars in good part, since I am of no faction, nor have any passion or interest, but faithfully to performe that service and dutie which I owe to your sacred majestie, for whose perfect health and happiness I pray, with the devotion of

Your sacred majestie's

Most obedient, most loyall, and most affectionate  
subject and servant,

HERBERT.

*From Merlou Castle, the 31st of October, 1623.*

*Stil. No.*

The religious sentiments of lord Herbert have given considerable interest to the following prayer, which is taken from Warner's "*Epistolæ Curiosæ*." It was found in his own hand-writing, and there is reason to believe that he pronounced it himself daily.

A PRAYER, BY EDWARD LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY.

O God! Thou, by whose power and wisdome all things at first were made, and by whose providence and goodness they are continued and preserved, still

behold, from thy everlasting dwellinge above, me thy creature and inhabitant of this lower world, who from this valley of change and corruption, lifting up heart and eyes to thee his eternal God and creator, does here acknowledge and confess these manifold blessings, these vast gifts bestowed on me; as namely, that before I yet was, when I could neyther know nor consent to be great and good, thy eternall providence had ordained me this being, by which I was brought into this world, a living, free, and reasonable creature, not senseless or brutish, but capable of seeinge and understandinge thy wondrous works herein; and not only so, but of usinge and enjoyinge them, in that plentiful measure wherein they have been hitherto afforded me. O Lord, with all humbleness I confess, that were there no other pledge of thy favour than this alone, it were more than any of thy creatures in this life can possibly deserve.

But thy mercies go farther yet. Thou hast not only made me see, know, and partake thy works, but hast suffered me to love thee for the blessings shewed us in them. I say, thou hast admitted fraile dust and ashes to so high a dignity as to love thee, the infinite and eternall beauty. And not only disdainest it not, but acceptest, yea, and rewardest the same: and whence can this come, but from thy everlasting goodness, which, had it not vouchsafed to love me first, I could not have had the power, (than which man has no greater) of loving thee againe. Yet here thy mercies stay not. Thou hast not only given mee to know and love thee, but hast written in my heart a desire even to imitate and bee like thee (as farre as in this fraile flesh I may,) and not only so, but many ways inabled me to the performance of it. And from hence, Lord, with how much comfort do I learne the high estate I received in my creation, as beinge formed in thine owne similitude and likenesse. But, O Lord, thy mercies (for they are infinite) are not bounded even here. Thou hast, then, not only given mee the means of knowinge, lovinge, and imitatinge thee in this life; but hast given

mee the ambition of knowinge, lovinge, and imitatinge thee after this life ; and for that purpose hast begunne in mee a desire of happinesse, yea of eternal bliss, and from thence proceeded to give mee hope ; and not only so, but also a faith which does promisse and assure mee, that since this desire can come from none but thee, nothing thou doest can be in vain. What shall I say, then, but desire thee, O Lord, to fulfill it in thy good tyme, to mee thy unworthy creature, who in this flesh can come no nearer thee than the desireing that mortality which both keeps mee from thy abode, and makes me most unlike thee here. Amen.●

● Warner's Epist. Curius.



# INDEX

## A.

AMBASSADOR's table at Paris, 118.

Areskins, sir James, challenges lord Herbert, 77.

Ayres, lady, obtains lord Herbert's miniature, 79.

——— sir John, attempts to assassinate lord Herbert.  
81.

## B.

Balagny, M., his exploits in duelling, 68.

——— challenges lord Herbert in the trenches,  
72.

——— is challenged by lord Herbert, 76.

Boar hunting, 63.

## C.

Calvert, sir George, accompanies lord Herbert to the  
Low Countries, 107.

Carlton, sir Dudley, ambassador to the duke of Savoy,  
97.

Carnival, entertainments at, 98.

Cecil, sir Edward, occurrence with, 72.

Chantilly, description of, a seat of the duke of Montmo-  
rency, 65.

Charles, prince, his journey into Spain, 140.

Conway, sir Edward, conducts lord Herbert to his ship,  
108.

## D.

"De Veritate," lord Herbert's steps towards publishing  
145.

Distresses of war, 100.

Dorset, earl of, his attentions to lord Herbert, 79.

Dudley, sir Robert, at Florence, 96.

## E.

Embassy, French, lord Herbert's proposed account of, 118.

## F.

Female pity for distress, striking example of, 100.

France, queen of, described, 139.

                    , her reply to lord Herbert, 115.

French animosity towards the English, 119.

## G.

Gondomer, count de, his visit to lord Herbert, 139.

Griffiths, Richard, rescued from drowning by lord Herbert, 87.

## H.

Herbert's, lord, reasons for writing his life, 15. His contempt of falsehood, 15. Account of his ancestors, 16. Singular proclamation to his tenantry, 19. His mother and family described, 22. His birth, 23. His early sickness and first inquiry, 27. Latin poetry, 28. Argument respecting a future life, 30. His education begun, 31. Character of his first tutor, 31. Is attacked with Tertian ague, 32. Goes to Oxford, 33. Death of his father, 33. His marriage, 34. Removes to London, 34. Reasons for learning music, 34. Instructions for the management and education of children, 35. Greek and Latin, 36. Importance of virtuous habits, 36. Benefits of grave and learned company, 37. Logic, its uses and abuse, 37. Ancient philosophers, 38. Astrology founded in error, 38. Fortifications, 38. Medicine, 39. Lord Herbert's skill in these, 39. His directions for finding remedies, 39. Botany, 41. Moral virtues, 42. Forgiveness of injuries, 44. Wisdom necessary in doing good, 45. Rhetoric, 46. Different kinds of oratory, 47. Advantages of forethought, 47. Public life and government, 48. Manual exercises, 48. Dancing, 48. Fencing, 49. Riding, 50. Management of horses, 50. Swimming, 53. Evils of horse-racing, 53. Cards and dice, 53. Proposed instructions for behaviour to children and servants, 54. Family affairs, 51. Lord Herbert's first appearance at court, 55. Meets king James at Burley, 55. Is made knight of the bath, 55. Painted in his robes, 56. Ribband

removed by a lady, 56. His intended journey to Spain, 56. Is made sheriff of Montgomeryshire, 56. Makes no gain of his offices, 57. Proposed settlement on his children, 57. Obtains license to travel, 58. Quits England and arrives at Paris, 58. Is invited to the castle of Merlou, 59. Attacks a young Frenchman, 59. Sends several challenges, 60. His reception at the court of Henry IV. and queen Margaret, 67. Leaves France with a present for the queen from the princess of Conté, 68. Dangers in landing at Dover, 68. Delivers the queen's present in person, 70. Returns to his family, 70. Accompanies lord Chandos to the Low Countries, 71. Arrives at Dusseldorp, 77. Passes along the Rhine, and returns to London, 78. His great estimation in court and city, 79. Defends himself from the attacks of sir John Ayres, 79. Examined before the council, 84. Second attack, 86. His valuable horse, 87. Goes again to the Low Countries, 88. Accepts the Spanish army's challenge, 91. Is handsomely entertained in the camp by the marquis Spinola, 92. His travels and honours, 93. Goes to Venice and Rome, 94. Arrives at Padua, 97. Goes to Turin, 98. Enters the service of the duke of Savoy, 98. Arrives at Lyons, 101. Is cited before the governor, 102. Given in custody, 103. Released by sir Edward Sackville, 103. Challenges the governor, 104. Goes to Geneva, 107. Raises men for the duke of Savoy, 108. Arrives at Brussels, 108. Incurs useless danger, 109. Returns to London, and is attacked with ague, 110. Appointed ambassador to France, 111. His instructions, 112. Attempted robbery, 112. Pecuniary arrangements, 114. Account of his attendants, 114. His house at Paris, 115. His reception at the French court, 117. Officers of the embassy, 119. Occurrences with foreign powers, 119. Questions of precedence, 121. Private history, 121. Parisian manners, 126. Debates on public affairs, 128. Attempts a peace, 130. Is seized by a fever, 131. Quarrel with M. de Luyues, 131. Is recalled, 134. Is well received on his return, 135. His second embassy, 136. His means of obtaining intelligence, 137. Publishes his work "De Veritate," 147. Termination of his embassy, 147. Narrative continued, 148. Letters to his brother, 148. His death, 151. Epitaph by himself, 152. Account of his works, 152. Extracts from his poetry, 155. Character, 156. Letters to the marquis of Buckingham, &c. 158. His prayer, 163.



Inquisition at Rome, lord Herbert accused in, 96.

Juliers, siege of, 72.

———, anecdotes respecting, 73.

## L.

Languedoc, forces in, 99.

Leicester, earl of, acquaints lord Herbert with his danger from sir John Ayres, 81.

Louis XIII., his person and character, 116.

Low Countries, proceedings in, 88.

Lucy, sir Thomas, accompanies lord Herbert on his return to England, 68.

Luynes, M. de, some account of, 117.

## M.

Merlou, castle of, lord Herbert's removal thither, 120.

Montgomery, lieutenant, his danger from befriending lord Herbert, 77.

Montmorency, duke of, his attachment to lord Herbert, 59.

——— invites lord Herbert to France, on his dangerous attacks from sir John Ayres, 86.

## N.

Nun of Murano, her excellent singing, 94. •

———, petition for safety, 88.

## O.

Oath between the kings of France and England, 120.

Old Exchange, lord Herbert's house near, 111.

Orange, prince of, accepts lord Herbert's services, 88.

——— grants lord Herbert the pardon of a soldier, 90.

Orford, lord, remarks on lord Herbert's theory of forgiving injuries, 45.

## P.

Payton, sir Thomas, lord Walden's second, 73.

Pembroke, earl of, executes seven brothers, 21.

——— and Herbert, families of, united, 33.

Plague at Paris, 120.

Powis, lord, mediates between lord Herbert and sir John Ayres, 81.

## S.

Sackville, sir Edward, obtains the release of lord Herbert, 103.

Savoy, duke of, invites lord Herbert to his service, 98.

Scarnafigi, count, his instructions, 99.

Segnerand, Père, his sermon before the king, 144.

Shrewsbury, earl of, affixes lord Herbert's spur on his knighthood, 55.

Singing, excellent, at Milan, 97.

Somerset, sir Thomas, his combat with lord Herbert, 76.

Spanish army, a challenge from, 91.

## V.

Vaughan, sir Robert, challenges lord Herbert, 112.

Village beauty in Languedoc, 100.

Villiers duke of Buckingham, his friendship for lord Herbert, 110.

## W.

Walden, lord, his quarrel with lord Herbert, 73.

Wolves, French method of hunting, 61.

Worcester, earl of, his official message, 113.



**MEMOIRS**  
*OF*  
**PRINCE EUGENE**  
*OF*  
**SAVOY;**

**WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.**

**LONDON :**  
**WHITTAKER, TREACHER, AND ARNOT,**  
**AVE-MARIA-LANE.**

**MDCCLXXX.**



## EDITOR'S PREFACE.

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IT is scarcely requisite to preface the self-written memoirs of a man of the high character and consequence of the celebrated prince Eugene of Savoy, with any remarks upon the interest which must almost necessarily attach to them. Such a work from the hand of a man whose history is for a long period interwoven with that of Europe at large, must be curious, however executed ; but the memoirs of Eugene are as attractive from the spirit in which they are written, as from the importance of the person and the events to which they relate. " We are admitted," say the Edinburgh Reviewers,\* " into the confidence of a statesman and hero, with whose life a very important period of our history is closely connected. We are instructed by the candid recitals of a powerful mind, viewing every object in a grand and masterly style ; disclosing the most secret causes of events ; simplifying the apparent mysteries of court intrigues ; doing justice to neglected or injured merit ; and throwing the broad light of genius over the obscurest parts of his career. The work bears internal marks of authenticity : it is written with great brevity, great carelessness, and great vivacity—in a tone of levity and hard-heartedness that

marks the man of the world ; and with so much of the gay, familiar, and sarcastic manner of the genuine French wits, as frequently to remind us of the brilliant ' *Memoirs* de Grammont.' "

After a recommendation so unequivocal, from a quarter not very celebrated for levity in the appropriation of panegyric, it need only be added, that the work here presented first appeared at Weimar in 1809, owing to a series of causes which are explained in the original Preface, which is for that purpose retained. It was afterwards reprinted at Paris, when considerable pains were taken to correct numerous errors in names and punctuation ; and it is from one of these improved copies that the present version has been translated. It is the more necessary to remark this fact, as a subsequent edition appeared in the French capital, in which various passages were omitted that were disagreeable to the restored family, all of which, however, appear in the following work, which follows the original without abridgement or mutilation.

In conformity with the plan of this collection, an account is condensed, from a former English edition, of the family and early life of prince Eugene, in order to form a proper Introduction to his own narrative ; as well as a brief Sequel, descriptive of the short interval between the period of the break in his memoirs and his death. A few useful notes are also borrowed from the same publication, explanatory of passages in the original, with a view to render the work more complete.

# PREFACE

## TO THE WEIMAR EDITION.

WHOEVER has been acquainted with Vienna must know that the count de Canales resided in that city, near thirty years, as the minister of the king of Sardinia. One of his daughters is there married to the count de Hardegg, grand-huntsman, and one or two others are canonesses. In the interval which followed the death of prince Eugene, and preceding the coming of the count de Canales, the prince's niece and heiress, married to the prince of Hildburghausen, possessed an excellent house, and kept a kind of little court in the prince's garden, now known by the appellation of the Belvidere. There the count de Canales was introduced the day after his arrival ; she soon became attached to him, not only as the minister of the king, her cousin, but also as a very agreeable and well-informed man. The memoirs of prince Eugene were yet fresh ; he circulated in society many of the expressions, sarcasms, and anecdotes contained in them.

The count de Canales was a great collector. An editor of that class who at the present day impose upon the living pretended relics of the dead, would have abundant opportunity to make the latter say whatever he pleased. I know not whether the count de Canales committed to writing what he learned from very recent tradition ; but nothing of the sort was found among his papers. It was among those of another person, that what is here presented to the public was discovered, and in the following manner.

The princess of Hildburghausen, after relating a great deal concerning her uncle, said to him : " As to his



military transactions, you must excuse me : but here is a short sketch of them, written partly by the hand of the prince himself, between his last campaign and his death. Do not keep it ; read it with attention, and then return it to me."

I imagine that the count de Canales was in no great hurry ; at least so much is certain, that the manuscript was still in his hands when the princess died, I believe in 1752 or 1753.

It was not thought of for a great length of time. Count O'Donnel, general of cavalry, and uncle, after the fashion of Bretagne, to the count O'Donnel who is at present at Vienna, told me that he had read it.

For upwards of twenty years the count de Canales passed all his evenings with the celebrated Metastasio and the baron de Hagen, who died president of the Aulic Council, seven or eight years ago. Sometimes the graver classics were the subject of their conversation ; sometimes they culled the lighter beauties of the language and literature of every nation.

The abbé Gausco, a friend of Montesquieu's, was admitted as a Piedmontese and a man of letters to the evening parties of the count de Canales, whenever he returned from Paris or Tournay, where he had a canonry. One day, when all four were on the subject of history, prince Eugene happened to be mentioned. " Here," said the count de Canales, " is what I have collected respecting his private and military life ; you shall hear it, but you must not carry it away. I will not give you the prince in *robe de chambre* ; but I am desirous to show him to you in helmet and armour," continued he, turning to the abbé de Guasco, " for the instruction of your brother : he ought to study him ; he will have occasion for it, since he has just been appointed quartermaster general of marshal Daun's army."—This conversation must consequently have taken place in the month of February, 1757.

Many people still living can attest the accuracy of what I am advancing, and especially that of the dates on which point I am particularly scrupulous. To one

I venture to appeal, if he be yet alive, as I hope, for two years ago he was recovering from a severe illness at Moron, a small town in Tyrol, whither, driven from Italy, I, unhappy emigrate, repaired with my slender baggage. Should he be dead, his daughter is not; she was promised the appointment of canoness at Halle. She will not refuse to certify the truth of what I say; for she was present at my conversations with her venerable father, aged ninety-two, M de Ferraris, major on half-pay, formerly aid-de-camp to the count de Guasco, general of infantry.

The reader will begin to trace the descent of the work which I have printed, and to perceive in what manner it has found its way before the public. Want of money on my part, the curiosity of an old soldier, gratitude for my attentions on his part, and the indifference of a dying man to all that is passing around him: this it was that procured me this magnificent present, which he made me with a voice scarcely audible. Besides, nothing was to be sold in a little town of the Tyrol; there are no buyers. The kind M de Ferraris gave or suffered those around him to take what they pleased. Some of his old friends, half-pay officers like himself, took possession of his books; an Austrian general, employed at Inspruck, of his maps; and I, though I never expect to have armies to command, fell upon a manuscript whose title rendered it valuable to me. The letters are made long and narrow in this manuscript, the authenticity of which may be ascertained by comparing it with the prince's signature at the Aulic council of war, at Vienna. It is very remarkable that the German character and orthography were both unknown to him, and that he signed his name in three different languages. It was in this manner, which I defy any person whatsoever to disprove.

For the rest, it is only the conversations which he had with different persons, the reflections, and the last year, that are in his own hand-writing. He appears to have dictated the rest to a secretary.

This major Ferraris was a man of great merit; he

possessed the confidence of his general, whose dangers he shared, and whose operations he seconded at the siege of Schweidnitz in 1762. He contributed the more towards it, as he frequently reconciled the differences that took place between M de Guasco and M de Gribeauval, a celebrated French engineer—differences which invariably occur between officers whose duty is not accurately determined; and he inherited all the plans and books belonging to his general; on his death as a prisoner, year or two afterwards I believe, at Königsberg. Having become possessed of his manuscript, I put it into the hands of George Conrad Waldburg, printer and bookseller at Klagenfurt, where the curious may examine the hand-writing of prince Eugene, and thus have an opportunity of ascertaining its authenticity. The following is a copy of his acknowledgment of the receipt of this valuable manuscript.

“I acknowledge with gratitude that Monsieur N. . . , a French emigrant officer, has put this manuscript of prince Eugene’s into my possession.

“GEORGE CONRAD WALDBURG.”

“*Klagenfurt, January 1, 1807.*”

I know not whether some person in the chancery the prince might not possibly have taken a copy of this excellent work, which may have furnished the outline of the history reprinted at Vienna, by Briffaut. In 177 I cannot tell what the author meant by this expression: “I had an opportunity to avail myself of what was written by prince Eugene in the German language. Did he intend to assert or to make people believe that the prince wrote in German? I have shown above that he was not sufficiently acquainted with the language that. I think it was a monsieur Lazzay, or a monsieur Rousset, who was the author, or printer of a history of five volumes.

In the style of the prince will be found a militancy which well accords with his physiognomy and his age. Another proof of the authenticity of this manuscript is the garrulity of age which it exhibits; repetitions which

professed author would have avoided, negligences which a man of letters would not have committed : in a word, there is no part of it but what betrays the military man. The tone which pervades it would be ill adapted to any other character, but may be allowed in a soldier, whose style is not always excellent, and sometimes too familiar. That of the prince, such as it is, is clear and concise ; so he was also in conversation, as I have been told by the Prussian general Lentulus, who retired to Neufchatel, where he died at a very advanced age. He had served under him in his last campaign on the Rhine, whither he had accompanied the great Frederic, then prince royal. Here is abundance of facts, dates, and names, which may be confronted ; my name alone shall not be made public.



## INTRODUCTION.

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CHARLES EMANUEL, surnamed the Great, duke of Savoy, married Catherine of Austria, daughter of Philip the Second of Spain, by whom he had several children, among whom were four sons: Philip Emanuel, who died an infant; Victor Amedæus, his successor; Emanuel Philibert, viceroy of Naples; Maurice, who was first a cardinal but renounced the ecclesiastical condition to marry his niece, of whom he became enamoured; and Thomas Francis, founder of the branch of Carignan. The latter went to France, where he married Mary de Bourbon, daughter of Charles, count of Soissons, who was killed at the battle of Sedan, in 1641. This lady, who was of the blood royal of France, brought him the county of Soissons, which title he assumed. By this union he had three sons, Philibert Emanuel, prince of Carignan; Joseph Emanuel, count of Soissons; and Eugene Maurice, who, on the death of the preceding, assumed his title, and having married Olympia Mancini, one of the nieces of the celebrated Cardinal Mazarine, had by her three daughters and four sons, the youngest of whom, Francis Eugene, was born October the 18th, 1663.

Cardinal Mazarine, it is well known, had elevated himself to the high situation of prime minister, during the minority of Louis the Fourteenth, and the regency of his mother, Ann of Austria. The cardinal, a native of Italy, sent to that country for his two sisters, who were widows, the one with two daughters, and the other with five. These he introduced at the French court, when

the young monarch began to approach the years of manhood ; and as his ambition was equal to his avarice, he probably hoped that some one of them might so far captivate the heart of the inexperienced Louis, then only seventeen years old, as to induce him in time to make her the partner of his throne. The eldest of the Mancinis was soon married to the duke de Mercœur, and Louis, from associating chiefly with these ladies, began to cast his eyes on the next sister, then only eighteen. According to madame de Motteville, she was far from being a perfect beauty. Her eyes were full of fire, and though her face was not very lovely, yet her youth made amends for that. She was inclining to be fat, her complexion was very fair, and her face long, but she had fascinating dimples in her cheeks, which were very pretty, as was also her mouth, which was very small. She had delicate hands, and in short, the magnificence of her dress, and her wit, made her a very fine young lady, though far inferior in that respect to her sister ; but she pleased the king best, and was an accomplished beauty in his eyes, though not in those of other people. With this lady the king continued for some time to amuse himself, but showed no signs of a passion for her ; yet his partiality to her company procured her great honours, and considerable advantages at court. She had, however, penetration enough to perceive that the king's love for her was only an amusement ; and she was not pleased to see that her uncle the cardinal, so far from studying her individual interest, made no other use of her than to keep up his influence with the king, and aggrandize his family. In this situation, Olympia, without wholly renouncing her claim upon Louis's affections, resolved to procure herself a solid establishment, and accordingly gave her hand to Eugene Maurice, of Savoy, count of Soissons, who combined with his illustrious descent the character of a truly honourable man, and an excellent husband.

The count of Soissons was too complaisant a courtier and a husband to take umbrage at the visits which the king, notwithstanding his own marriage to the infant

of Spain, continued to pay to his wife. The countess was appointed superintendant of the queen's household, and as such had apartments assigned her in the Tuileries. Here she reigned, says the duke de St Simon, after the death of her uncle, and here she maintained her empire by a relic of the cardinal's munificence, and still more by her genius and her address. Her residence had become the rendezvous of a very select party of the most distinguished persons of both sexes, which made it the focus of the gallantry of the court, of intrigues and ambitious projects, over which relationship had considerable influence: and the countess was then as much courted, caressed, and respected, as she was afterwards neglected and forgotten. The duke of Orleans, the only brother of Louis the Fourteenth, had married the princess Henrietta, daughter of the unfortunate Charles the First of England. The king, who had despised her a few years before on account of her youth, felt such a partiality for her when she had become his sister-in-law, that he was seldom out of her company; and as he kept his court sometimes at her house, and sometimes at that of the countess of Soissons, this led to an intimacy between those ladies, and she and the duchess of Orleans became his constant companions. They engaged by day in an incessant round of pleasures and entertainments, and took excursions by night in the woods of Fontainebleau, frequently not returning till two or three o'clock in the morning, which license and revelry lasted until interrupted by the dawning passion of Louis for La Vallière. The intrigues of the countess and duchess to interrupt this new amour by means of a forged letter from the king of Spain to the queen, becoming known to the king by the confession of the latter, he forgave the duchess the part she had taken in that affair, on account of her candour, but on the 13th of March, 1665, the count and countess of Soissons, notwithstanding the king's former friendship, received an order to leave the court.

Sometime after this the countess made her peace with the offended monarch, and obtained permission to



return to Paris, on condition of resigning the office of superintendant of the queen's household, but from this time she found herself in a very different sphere from that in which she had formerly moved. In 1673, the count of Soissons, then serving in the army of Germany, died very suddenly, and in 1680, the countess was involved in a new disgrace. The unbounded licentiousness authorized by the example of the monarch and his court, produced a species of crime, which struck terror into France, and filled all Europe with astonishment and horror. The use of poison as the instrument of vengeance or avarice began to be introduced. Louvois by his innovations was at declared enmity with the most distinguished of the nobility. He was not afraid of open attacks, but apprehended the secret machinations of their hatred. The affair of the countess de Brinvilliers, a lady of a good family, young and beautiful, who poisoned friends, relations, servants, husband and father, and suffered the punishment due to such atrocities in 1676, excited a great sensation; especially as she was spared the torture, and flattered till the last moment with the hope of pardon to prevent her making discoveries. A still stronger sensation was excited in 1680, by the trial of la Vigoureux and Voisin, two women who laid claim to the art of sorcery and predicting future events, who sold essences, pomatums, as well as the most subtle and virulent poisons to women tired of their husbands, and to children desirous of getting rid of their parents. The common people consulted them as fortune-tellers, and the courtiers in the character of poisoners. At first they practised their art without much noise. Thirst of gain, or the hope of being skreened by the number of their accomplices, rendered them bolder and bolder, till they at length sold their drugs publicly and without any precaution. Madame de Montespan was afraid of poison, and Louvois of sorcery; and the king yielding to their importunities established the *Chambre Ardente*, as it was called, in the arsenal, for the express purpose of taking cognizance of offences connected with those subjects.

Among the persons of quality accused was the marshal de Luxembourg, who was confined for several months in the Bastille, and the countess of Soissons. The latter fled to the Netherlands, where, according to report, she was denied admittance into several towns, the magistrates of which informed her that they wanted no poisoners within their walls. At length, however, she found a refuge at Brussels, and subsequently visited Spain. Her motives in so doing, it was impossible to guess; for in that country foreign princes had no rank, and it could not but prove a great mortification to a woman who had moved in so exalted a sphere in France, to doom herself to live in a place where she could not appear in public with distinction. The queen of Spain, a niece of Louis the Fourteenth, had gained the esteem and affection of her husband to such a degree, that the court of Vienna began to be apprehensive lest she should acquire sufficient influence to detach him from the interests of the emperor. Count Mansfeld was then the imperial ambassador at Madrid: with him the countess of Soissons on her arrival contracted an intimacy. The queen, ardently attached to France, had a strong desire to see her; but the king, who had heard enough of this lady, and received warning from all quarters that a design had been formed to poison the queen, could not without the greatest difficulty be prevailed upon to consent to the so much desired interviews. Nevertheless, repeated importunities at length extorted the permission, that the countess might sometimes come after dinner by a private staircase to see her, but in the king's presence. By degrees her visits grew more frequent, though they always excited repugnance and suspicion in the king who begged the queen as a particular favour, never to take any thing presented to her by the countess till he had first tasted it, as he well knew that there could be no intention of poisoning him.—Milk is a rarity at Madrid, and one day, the weather being very hot, the queen wished for some. The countess, who had by degrees begun to be left alone with her, said she knew where excellent milk was to be

had, and promised to bring her some in an ice. It is asserted that it was prepared at count Mansfeld's; and that the countess carried it to the queen, who had no sooner swallowed it, then she was taken extremely ill. Amidst the bustle occasioned by this accident, the countess slipped away from the palace, returned to her house, where her most valuable effects were ready packed, and left Madrid. The king sent after her; but her measures were so well concerted, that his messengers could not overtake her; and in this manner the queen died suddenly like her mother, and was as much regretted in Spain, as Henrietta was in France.

The countess of Soissons fled to Germany, where she lived in great obscurity. Mansfeld, on the contrary, was recalled, and invested with the highest offices at the court of Vienna. When Charles the Second of Spain afterwards married a German princess, the countess obtained permission to return to Flanders. She again fixed her residence at Brussels, and her situation may be inferred from the following fact, recorded by Dangeau. "On the 15th of March, 1695," says he, "the countess of Soissons, reduced, as it were, to beggary, applied to the duke of Mazarine, who sent her two thousand francs." She died, we are told by Anquetil, at Brussels, forsaken by all, poor, and universally despised, and even very little noticed by the prince Eugene, her son.

Such were the principal features in the life of the countess of Soissons, a knowledge of which will serve to elucidate certain expressions in the following memoirs, that might not otherwise be understood by the generality of readers. A brief sketch of the early years of her celebrated son will be still more necessary.

In France, as elsewhere, it was commonly the lot of younger children to be destined for the church. Scarcely had Eugene attained the age of seven years, when he had two abbies given him, both situated in Piedmont, near Turin. Though he displayed an excellent capacity for study, it soon appeared that the condition for which he was designed was by no means suited to his inclination. At a very early age he took delight in hearing of

battles and sieges, and his eyes sparkled with joy at the sound of the trumpet or the drum. The death of his father, when he was about ten years old, made no change in the progress of his education; though it made a great alteration in his mother's circumstances, by the loss of his salary as governor of Champagne. The disgrace of his mother, which followed some time afterwards, completely deranged the affairs of his family. The court of France, however, continued a pension to prince Eugene, that he might appear according to his rank. He went by the name of the abbé de Savoye, and the king jocosely called him the little abbé. His martial inclination grew stronger with his years. The appellation of abbé had become hateful to him, because it was an obstacle to his military ardour; and as soon as he was emancipated from the superintendence of a tutor, he requested permission of the king to resign the ecclesiastical dignities which he had been pleased to confer on him, and to give him a commission in his army, in which he might serve him much more usefully. Louis refused his request, either for the reasons assigned by the prince in his preface, or on account of want of interest at court since his father's death and his mother's disgrace. He was also hated by Louvois, the natural pride of the prince not allowing him to cringe before that haughty and unprincipled minister. Exasperated at this refusal, Eugene protested before some of his friends that he would enter into the service of some other power, and would never return to France but as a conqueror. While awaiting an opportunity to put these threats and this design into execution, he continued to learn all the exercises befitting a prince destined for the military profession. He made a rapid progress both in those of the body and the mind; and there was nothing but what his application and military bias rendered easy to him; until at length the day arrived which called him to the commencement of his brilliant career.

Leopold, emperor of Germany, was engaged in a war with the Turks. The severity with which the court of Vienna had treated count Stephen Teké. had lost it the

affection of all the Hungarian nobles. The count was a man of high rank in his country, and his great wealth contributed in no small degree to his misfortunes. Troops were sent to take possession of the castle of Kus, in which Tekeli had shut himself up. Scarcely had the imperialists begun the attack, when the count died so suddenly as to excite suspicions that his death was not a natural one. His son Emeric, only fifteen years old, fled to another castle, whither he was pursued by the imperialists; and at length escaped to Transylvania. The property left by his father was confiscated, and his estates were laid waste. Young Tekeli, on his arrival in Transylvania, contrived to insinuate himself so far into the good graces of prince Abaffi, as to prevail on him to assist the malecontents in Hungary against the vexations of the imperialists. Abaffi sent for this purpose an army of twelve thousand men, and appointed Tekeli commander in chief. Inflamed with the desire of revenge, the youthful general made a rapid progress. He penetrated into Lower Hungary and laid siege to Gran. The Turks, under the pretext of supporting the malecontents, likewise took the field. The war continued for some time, after which a truce was concluded between the imperialists and malecontents. Fresh misunderstandings arose; the Turks again flew to arms, and promised Tekeli the sovereignty of the principality of Transylvania, after the death of Abaffi, if he would recommence hostilities. Tekeli, impelled as much by ambition as by revenge, agreed to the proposal. The malecontents on their part engaged to pay the grand signior eighty thousand crowns a year, provided he would send them powerful succours. The war was renewed in August, 1681, Tekeli with his forces joined the Turks, who overran all Hungary, and at length proceeded to lay siege to Vienna. On this occasion, volunteers hastened from all parts of Christendom to commence their military career in the army under the duke of Lorraine, who finding himself too weak to oppose the infidels, had taken a position near Vienna. Among these volunteers was prince

Eugene of Savoy, who left France in the year 1683, the year in which the celebrated John Sobieski, king of Poland, raised the siege of Vienna, and encountered so much hauteur and ingratitude from the emperor Leopold the First. This being the period whence the prince himself commences his memoirs, he may now proceed to speak for himself.



## PREFACE

### OF PRINCE EUGENE.

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THERE are, as I have been told, several Italian and German manuscripts concerning me, which I have neither read nor written. A flatterer, whose name is Dumont, has printed a large folio volume, which is entitled, "My Battles." This gentleman is extremely bombastic; he panegyricizes me at the expense of Turenne, who according to him would have been taken at Crémona in 1702, or killed at Höchstett in 1704, if he had been opposed to me. What stupid stuff!

Some historians, good or bad, will take the trouble to enter into the details of my youth, of which I scarcely remember any thing. They will not fail to speak of my mother, a little too intriguing to be sure, driven from the court, exiled from Paris, and suspected, I believe, of witchcraft, by people who were no great conjurors. They will tell how I was born in France, and how I left it burning with fury against Louis the Fourteenth, who had refused me a company of cavalry, because, he said, I had too weak a constitution; and an abbey, because it was pretended, (on I know not what stories respecting me current in the gallery of Versailles,) that I was fitter for pleasure than for the church. No



Huguenot expelled by the revocation of the edict of Nantès ever cherished a stronger hatred against him. When therefore Louvois, on hearing of my departure, said, "So much the better, he will not return to his country again," I vowed that I never would, except as a conquering enemy, and I kept my word.

I have entered it on more sides than one ; and it was not my fault that I did not penetrate farther. But for the English, I should have given law in the capital of the *grand monarque*, and shut up his Maintenon in a convent for life.

# MEMOIRS

## OF

### PRINCE EUGENE

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1683.—**N**EVER was the court so dull as this year. I did wisely to leave it. This was the period of Louis the Fourteenth's devotion, occasioned by the loss of his two sons, the comte de Vexin and the duc de Vermandois, Colbert, and the queen.

His most Christian majesty, who, previous to his being so religious, assisted the Christians in 1664 against the infidels, having now become eminently pious, excited them against the emperor, and encouraged the Hungarian rebels. But for him, neither the one nor the other would have advanced to the gates of Vienna. That he might not appear to countenance them, he durst not absolutely forbid the young princes of the blood to go and signalize themselves in this war. I went with them, weary of being called the little abbé of Louis the Fourteenth. He was very fond of me. It was, perhaps, from motives of conscience that he had refused me the abbey. I was not desirous of shining either in the church or at court : I was perfectly satisfied with my reception in society ; but I wished to distinguish myself in war. Accordingly, at twenty I was in the service of Leopold the First, who knew nothing of the matter. He had fled from his capital, both at the siege and at the battle of Vienna. I thought at first sight that I should learn

my business better about the person of the duke of Lorraine, and prince Louis of Baden, than with the two electors of Bavaria and Saxony. Both the former led me many a dance from one attack to another, and sent me with orders into the hottest places.

The duke of Lorraine, I was told, employed none but generals, in battle, to carry or even to change an order, if necessary. I was sensible of his honour, and he appeared satisfied with me. The confusion of that day can be but confusedly described. Sobiesky attended mass, with his arms crossed, in the church of Leopoldsberg. The Poles who had clambered up thither, I know not why, went down again like madmen, and fought like lions. The Turks, encamped on the spot where I threw lines up in 1703, not knowing which way to front, having neglected the eminences, behaved like idiots.

The emperor returned; I was presented to him. Not being yet familiarized with German manners, I was much amused with his haughty interview with the king of Poland. As a volunteer, I was one of the foremost in the pursuits of the Turks.

We lost no time; and Kuffstein being dead, I was rewarded with his regiment of dragoons on the 11th of December. Three months, to a day, after that signal victory, I was the happiest of men, and was serving under the duke of Lorraine.

1684.—Having, with him, taken Vicegrad, Gran, and Weitzen, and fought a glorious battle near the latter place, we had a still more important engagement near the Island of St Andrew. It is said that I made a very fine manœuvre at the head of my regiment, and that this put the Turks to the rout. They were cut to pieces without mercy. The duke of Lorraine had secured his centre by a morass, his left by the Danube, his right by an impassable mountain.

We now laid siege to Buda. Many destructive sallies were made by eighteen thousand men: twelve thousand arrived, and waited for the coming up of twice or thrice that number to attack us. The duke

made haste to beat them, and had the goodness to write to the emperor, that I had contributed most to the victory. Prince Louis of Baden was ready to eat me with caresses.

The siege was pushed with vigour; visiting the trenches by the side of the prince of Salm, I there received my first wound from a ball through the arm.

It was thought that a favourable moment for a general assault had arrived; it proved unsuccessful. The assailants were repulsed in every attack. Some altercation or other took place among the principal generals. This is often occasioned by the persons about them. Scandal finds its way into head-quarters as well as into ordinary society. At length, having lost thirty thousand men, the duke of Lorraine raised the siege on the 1st of November.

At Vienna this furnished occasion for many animadversions and many absurdities. One supposed that our failure proceeded from the want of good engineers. "No," said another, "'tis owing to the malice of Guido Stahrenberg, against whose advice the siege was undertaken." A third asserted that it was the result of the mismanagement of the commissariat, or of the ministers in withholding supplies of all necessities from the besiegers, with a view to diminish the influence of the duke of Lorraine, of whom they were jealous. For my part, being yet a very insignificant person, and for that very reason in favour with every body, (which is no uncommon thing when one is very young,) I retained the friendship of my two masters, Lorraine and Baden, though the latter fell out with the former, seconded by the elector, who was equally attached to me; and I went to spend the winter at Vienna, where I experienced the most flattering reception.

1685.—The marriage of an archduchess with the elector of Bavaria retarded the opening of the campaign. A pretty reason, truly! The duke of Lorraine went to reconnoitre Novigrad. The princes of the blood of France and Lorraine, and the volunteers of their retinue, arriving from Paris, joined the escort.

Armed with their pistols, they provoked the spahis, and some French heads were cut off by Turkish sabres. I rescued the others with my dragoons, whom I brought up just at the right time. Delighted with finding myself again in the company of all these young people, who were my old friends, and too young myself to scold, I found no fault with them, but the duke of Lorraine took that upon himself. He reprehended them severely, at the same time approving in his heart the ardent and impetuous courage of his cousins, Commerci and Thomas de Vaudemont, who afterwards served under me with such distinction.

The trenches had been opened a month before Neuhausel; and just when an assault was about to be made on the covered way, we received intelligence that a seraskier had arrived with sixty thousand men, that he had retaken Vicegrad and besieged Gran. We marched thither, and he raised the siege on the approach of the duke of Lorraine, who had left Caprara before Neuhausel. But observe what now happened.

The seraskier thought fit to take an excellent position. The duke contrived to acquaint him, by means of the country-people, that he had only twenty thousand men, and was retreating ready to die of fear. The honest Turk believed it. The duke halted in an amazingly strong position. I was in the centre, under the prince of Baden, with my dismounted dragoons. The elector of Bavaria commanded the right, in front of which, the brave, hot-headed young fellows whom I have mentioned, obtained permission, with some difficulty, to form a little squadron. They anticipated the Turks, who attacked them with prodigious fury and terrific shouts; but they were surrounded: our cuirassiers relieved them. The duke supported them himself, and was victorious with his wing, as was also the elector of Bavaria with his, and prince Louis in the centre, where I seconded him to the utmost of my ability. The prince of Hanover, (afterwards George the First,) and the count of Lippe, pushed the Turks into a morass. There were three or four great battles in one. The

seraskier received a wound in the thigh ; he plucked out his beard by the roots, because he was obliged to fly.

We were again before Neuhausel on the 19th of August. A breach was made. Commerci, followed by the young volunteers, was the first to mount the walls, and with the baron d'Asti hoisted upon them the imperial colours. The pacha and the garrison were put to the sword. The seraskier burned and demolished Novigrad, Vicegrad, and Weitzen ; and as for me, I set off to spend the winter at Vienna.

1686.—It was on this occasion that the prince of Baden, taking me by the hand, said to the emperor : " Here, sire, is a young Savoyard——" Modesty forbids me to repeat the rest. The mismanagement of the last year was a warning for the present : we were admirably supplied. The 13th of June the prince of Baden and I began the siege under the elector of Bavaria. All three joined in an assault upon an important tower, of which we made ourselves masters.

From this tower, on the 26th of July, we battered the castle of Buda in breach : we fully expected to gain possession of it, but were disappointed. Three thousand Turks made a sally. I had a horse killed under me. Twice we penetrated, sword in hand, into the castle, and twice we were repulsed. Prince Louis and myself were wounded. A Stahrenberg, a Herberstein, and a Kaunitz were killed ; and we were obliged to defer the general assault till another day. Unluckily I was not at it, being ordered to guard the lines, which were threatened by a numerous army : a charge of consequence, indeed, as I was told. But the accursed grand Vizir, quiet on a height, not daring to attack me, I know not why, saw with more coolness than myself this most important place taken and plundered before his face.

Prince Louis and I went, by the command of the duke of Bavaria, and took Fünfkirchen, Calveza, Simonthorna, Kaposwar, and Sicklos ; and afterwards burned the bridge at Esseck, which was six thousand

paces in length, and twenty-four in breadth. The army then took up its quarters for the winter.

I went to spend the carnival at Venice with my dear volunteers and French princes, and so did almost all the other princes in our army, and a great number of generals.

There, almost all of them fell in love; the duke of Mantua (2) did still worse, for he was quite a libertine; I was neither the one nor the other, and was highly diverted at seeing that prince as brave with the Venetians as he was cowardly with the Turks.

The elector of Bavaria was so tender, that he would have disgusted me of being so, had I been ever so well inclined. The ease with which his heart was affected communicated a fickleness to his mind, in regard to his opinions and resolutions; and from that time I considered (as I have since found with justice) great intrigues as insipid, ridiculous, and calculated for idlers, and little ones as far from reputable.

Morosini entertained us wonderfully well. We had, every day, charming and magnificent fêtes, on shore or at sea. On these occasions, I saw women more enterprising than generals. As all things have an end, I went to pass the rest of the winter at Vienna.

1687.—It was at this time that the duke of Lorraine crushed the enemies of Jesus Christ and his own, in the army and at court, in which number I was not, though in high favour with the elector and prince Louis, who belonged to that party. The duke marched to attack the grand vizir: his prudence was equal to his valour: he had recourse to the one as well as the other. Having advanced too far, considering the excellent position of the Turks, (for they entrench themselves in an astonishing manner as soon as they arrive,) he was not ashamed to retreat. This is a ticklish business with such devilish fellows. I covered with my dragoons the march of the rear; and preserved it from injury by charging, several times, the spahis who annoyed me. After some time the affair became more serious. Ligneville, Thungen, and Zinzendorf were killed.

The duke of Lorraine drew up fortunately and skilfully with his wings well supported, near mount Hersan. The duke of Mantua, who clambered up it, beheld in safety the whole engagement in the same plain of Mohatz where king Louis had perished. (3.) This excited the general laughter of the soldiers, who, thanks to him, ran merrily to meet death. (4.) The enemy advanced to attack us: both sides fought with fury. Piccolomini, being almost beaten, was supported by the brave elector. His artillery did execution: my dragoons took advantage of it, and I had the happiness to pursue the Turks to the entrenched camp. Having stopped a moment to survey them, I ordered my dragoons to leap into it; some on foot, the others on horseback with me. It is said that I was the first: it is true that I took a crescent there, and planted the imperial eagle. This was probably the reason that I was despatched with the news of this victory to the emperor. He gave me his portrait surrounded with diamonds. I had reached Vienna in a very few days; after spending three there, I returned in a very few more to the army, where I was also extremely well received; for at that time, apparently, I had too little merit to have enemies.

History, I hope, will record the glorious conduct of Commerci at the battle of Hersan. (6.) Nothing of consequence afterwards occurred; and the campaign being quite over, I found a very brilliant winter at Vienna, on account of the coronation of the king of Hungary. The duke of Lorraine, and several other generals, also repaired thither. Some intrigued, others amused themselves: I was among the latter.

1688.—A colonel at twenty, and major-general at twenty-one, I was made lieutenant-general at twenty-five. I conducted a reinforcement to the prince of Baden in Sclavonia, and returned with great expedition, because it was intended to besiege, or rather to storm Belgrade. The command of the five points of assault, on the 6th of September, was given to other generals. I complained of this:—"You shall remain



with me in reserve," replied the elector; and in this I think I am neither taking away nor giving you a bad commission. God knows what may happen!" He had guessed the result: all the assailants were repulsed. Sword in hand this brave prince and myself rallied and cheered them: I mounted the breach; a janizary cleft my helmet with a stroke of a sabre; I ran my sword through his body; and the elector, who had the preceding year received a musket-ball in the hand, was again wounded with an arrow in the right cheek. Nothing could be more brilliant or more sanguinary. How strangely one may find amusement amidst scenes of the greatest horror! I shall never forget the appearance and grimaces of the Jews, who were compelled to throw into the Danube the bodies of twelve thousand men, killed on both sides, (7) to spare the trouble and expense of burying them. I set out for Vienna.

1689.—Deeply did I regret not having remained with the army; then, perhaps, people would not have thought of me or of my name. At length, after the finest defence in the world, I sacrificed my glory to my zeal—a sacrifice not a little painful. My three superior officers, masters, and friends, Lorraine and Bavaria, were gathering laurels in the empire, and Baden in Hungary, while I was sent to Italy as a negociator. The French ambassador at Turin was not the dupe of my journey, undertaken, as it was given out, to see my family and the duke of Savoy. (8.) He knew him, as well as I did, to be sordid, ambitious, deceitful, implacable, fearing and detesting Louis the Fourteenth; not attached to Leopold, but not bearing any personal enmity to him; always ready to betray both, and led away by his mistresses and his ministers in any thing that was not connected with political affairs.

Being unable, for this reason, to accomplish my purpose by means of either, I addressed him frankly as follows:—"Cousin, you will always be the slave of your mortal enemy, if you do not declare for the emperor, who will confer on you the rank of royal highness and generalissimo; and give you whatever you

conquer in Dauphiné and Provence; and while you keep your intentions secret till every thing is ready, you may take your side."

This, indeed, was working upon him by means of the four predominant qualities which I have underlined above.

"When and where shall I conclude this treaty?" said Victor Amadæus. "Not at Turin, for the French ambassador would have suspicion of it."—"At Venice," I replied. "The ensuing carnival, the elector of Bavaria, who, like your royal highness, (I began to give him this title without delay,) is fond of amusement, will meet you there to sign it. This I answer for; and from this time I trust to you to write to the king of France, to employ evasions and excuses, to promise and to gain time."

The four motives of all his measures which I have mentioned, assuring me of his conduct, but not his good faith, which I did not guarantee for any length of time, I gave my word to the emperor, on my speedy return to Vienna, that this time my cousin would be on our side. Leopold thanked me much, and rewarded me with permission to go and see the conclusion of the siege of Mentz, defended by D'Uxelles; which had then lasted six weeks. I arrived just in time for the attack of the covered way, where I received a musket-ball, and returned to Vienna.

1690.—Twenty thousand crowns a month from England, twenty thousand more from Holland, four millions for the expenses of the war, a kind of subscription among all the petty princes of Italy, had more effect than my eloquence, and converted the duke of Savoy, for some time, into the stanchest Austrian in the world. His conduct, which I shall not attempt to justify, reminds me of that formerly pursued by the dukes of Lorraine, as well as the dukes of Bavaria. Their geography prevents them from being men of honour.

The emperor's ministers promised me seven thousand men to go to the assistance of Victor Amadæus.

I knew with what tardiness orders are given and executed at Vienna: and eager to engage the French, whom I had never yet seen opposed to me, I went to join the duke of Savoy, in his camp at Villa Franca. "You are just in time," said he "I am going to give battle to Catinat."—"Be cautious what you do," said I; "he is an excellent general, and commands the old troops, the flower of the French army; yours are new levies, and mine have not yet come up."—"What signifies that?" rejoined the duke. "I know the country better than Catinat: to-morrow I shall advance with my army to the abbey of Staffarde."

Instead of making the attack, we had to sustain it. The right wing, under the duke of Savoy, was attacked in front: that of the French crossed morasses which were believed to be impassable, and having turned and beaten ours, both their wings united and fell upon our left, where I commanded. I made my retreat in as good order as I could, and in my rearguard, composed of gendarmes and the lifeguards of Savoy, I was slightly wounded by a spent ball. I did not choose to remind my dear cousin of his presumption or my prediction, but I endeavoured to retrieve matters a little, at least, in regard to glory: for some time afterwards I had the good fortune to intercept a large detachment which had pillaged Tivoli. It fell into an ambuscade, from which, hearing the French coming, and singing to the utmost stretch of their throats, I sallied out and cut them to pieces. I scolded my soldiers severely for treating all the prisoners *à la Turque*. They had forgotten that it is usual to give quarter to Christians. I proceeded to chastise my old acquaintance the duke of Mantua, the hero of Hersan, who had formed new connections. I then took my leave of the duke of Savoy, who had lost every thing but Turin, and set out for Vienna.

1691.—I availed myself of my influence to conduct reinforcements to the duke of Savoy: but on my arrival I surprised him giving a secret audience to a French emissary. "Why was I denied admission?" said I to him as I entered. "Who is that man?"—"I acknow-

ledge," said the duke, quite disconcerted, "that I am negotiating a little, by means of him, with Catinat : but it is with a view to deceive him the better. There," added he, "is his letter, and copies of mine."—"I imagine," said I, "that you nevertheless intend to retain the considerable subsidies which I procured for you. 'Tis very embarrassing for your royal highness." I watched him more narrowly than ever, well knowing with whom I had to deal. I saved his honour for this time, and contributed to his glory at the expense of his plans, by tricking Balonde, who was besieging Coni, and who, in consequence of a letter, which, as I foresaw, would be intercepted by some French party or other, raised the siege. Catinat recrossed the Po. I charged his rear : he was there in person, and performed prodigies, both as a general and a soldier. I had but a few squadrons with me. Catinat, who was stronger than I, animated his men by his presence. I suffered my ardour to get the better of my judgment ; and pushed forward so far into the combat, that after receiving several balls through my clothes, a French horse-soldier was going to blow out my brains with a pistol, when he was despatched by a dragoon of my regiment, who was as highly pleased as myself, for I was much beloved by those brave fellows. Reinforcements poured in to us from all sides ; I went and took Carmagnole, where all my soldiers again behaved rather too much *à la Turque* : but I made some examples. Catinat manœuvred most wonderfully ; he would have beaten us, had we not retreated. Langallerie even gained an important advantage over our rear, and it was this that afterwards induced me to take him into the service of the emperor.

I accompanied the elector of Bavaria, who had also been on our side in this campaign, to Venice, and again beheld with pleasure my old acquaintances. More amours, and for me too, had I been so inclined ; husbands but too complaisant, who wished me to procure the dismissal of cicisbeos, whom they disliked ; too many Potiphars, to whom I acted the part of

Joseph, because I had other matters to attend to. At the beginning of January I returned to Vienna.

1692.—I was very soon sent back to watch the motions of my Catinat, but more especially those of the duke of Savoy. To keep him steady, I carried him the appointment of generalissimo; with which he was highly pleased. He would have marched immediately to attack Catinat, under Pignerol: all his generals and those of his allies acquiesced in this intention, but I was far from approving it. "Catinat is a skilful commander," said I to him. "If he be beaten, he will have reinforcements; if he beat us again, farewell to Italy. Let us oblige him to give up his conquests by a good diversion, which will humble the great Louis; let us amuse him in this country, and penetrate into Dauphiné in spite of all the obstacles of the passes."

My opinion prevailed: I went and took Quillestre and Embrun: there I received a contusion on the shoulder, in the trenches by the side of the duke of Savoy; and Commerci a ball which knocked out three of his teeth. There too I lost Leganes and fifteen hundred men; but at length I was in France. I then made myself master of Gap, and the duke of Savoy would have marched by way of Sisteron to Aix, and perhaps to Lyons, without the least difficulty, but for the small-pox, which saved France and reduced him to the brink of the grave. By his will he appointed me regent of his dominions. The duchess on her arrival finding him not so ill as he had been, carried him with her to Turin. Stopped by this unlucky accident, which caused us to lose a great deal of time, and by the perplexity of his generals, who, not being exactly acquainted with their master's real intentions, knew not how far they ought to obey me; I was obliged to lead back the army by the same road, for Catinat was waiting for us near Briançon.

"At least," said our soldiers, "we have revenged the atrocities of the French in the Palatinate, without doing it in their way; we have plundered pretty hand-

somely, and raised a million in contributions." There were cuirassiers who staked twenty louis on a card.

"Why did the king banish my mother?" said I to Commerci: "I have been expelling from their homes several thousands of his subjects." The order of the Golden Fleece was sent to me at Turin; and on my arrival at Vienna, I was made field marshal, ten years after my entrance into the service. I was delighted, as may easily be conceived, but grieved that Commerci was still but a major-general.

1693.—Victor Amadæus designed to take Pignerol, and wait for Catinat in the plain of Orbassan. I dissuaded him from this plan. "At least," said I, "since you intend to fight near La Marsaille, make yourself master of the height of Piosasque." He was exasperated at the burning by way of retaliation of La Venerie, a seat of his own, and another belonging to his minister St Thomas, and sent a message to the French, that he would no longer give quarter to their soldiers. This point was already but too well settled.

Catinat displayed on that day all his talents, and the duke of Savoy his usual valour. The former, in possession of the height, had every advantage over both our wings, cut up, at the same time, in flank by his artillery. What could I do in the centre? I fought successfully enough for some time; but overwhelmed on either side, I retreated as honourably as I could. Catinat disapproved of the fury of his troops, who cried out, "Let us too treat the Germans à la Tartare."

It was impossible to determine whether this unaccountable duke wished or did not wish to gain the battles which he fought; but these two were a warning to me; and as it was known that I had advised him against them, I was on that account not the less in favour with the army, the city, and the court. It was then, however, that I began to perceive that I had enemies. Caprara was the first; he was jealous of me without occasion, for he possessed merit. He was at the head of the Austrian and Spanish cabal, which strove to torment me all my life, but which I always laughed at.

1694.—I went to Vienna to solicit reinforcements. I obtained them, but very late. Italy had ceased to be à la mode. Turkey, the empire, and the Low Countries, were more thought of. The ministers had no money: I returned to the duke of Savoy, and said to him on my arrival:—"You cannot give me the slip this campaign at least, cousin: the siege of Casal shall be the pledge of your conduct: if you have no objection, let us begin it immediately." "Tis indeed what I wish," replied he, "but it will be very long; in my opinion it will be better to blockade that fortress the whole winter, that we may reduce it in spring." "At least," said I, "let us take the castle of St George," and accordingly it was taken. What a dull campaign! and what a strange man was my cousin!

1695.—I obliged him at length to form the siege. The snow forced us to abandon it till the end of June. I pushed it on briskly when I was in the trenches. Prince Charles of Brandenburg, relieving me there one day, received a musket-ball through his body. Crenon at length capitulated, and I would have laid siege to Pignerol. Every day new pretexts were made to oppose it, under the appearance of agreeing to the measure: we went into winter quarters. What a dull campaign! and what a strange man was my cousin!

1696.—He lost no time. To get away from the spies upon his conduct, whom I had left at Turin, thinking the carnival of Venice likely to excite suspicion, he contrived a journey to our lady of Loretto. It was, he said, in performance of a vow which he had made in the small-pox. Knowing the pilgrim to be any thing rather than devout, I soon discovered that he had there met the agents of the pope, the Venetians, and the French, and I learned the conditions of the treaty. "I have already told you," said I, to him, on his return to Turin, "that I watched you more closely than Catinat: you will not deceive me again." "Tis hard," replied he, "to be suspected by a relation." Scarcely had I left his closet, when I was informed of the publication of his truce with the French: and

determined not to do him the honour of speaking to him again, I expressed my indignation in the severest letter I ever wrote in my life. Commerci, more hot-headed, sent him a challenge: the duke had accepted it, and was going to the place appointed for the meeting, but was prevented by his ministers and generals.

He now threw off all restraint. He acknowledged that without wishing to be at war with any body, and desirous of putting an end to hostilities in Italy, he had concluded a treaty of neutrality with Louis the Fourteenth, and that since the allies refused to accede to it, he would join the French. Catinat and the duke of Savoy began operations by laying siege to Valence. The generals of the allies and myself, finding, after this junction, that we were too weak to resist, and fearing for the Milanese, accepted the neutrality; and each, after evacuating Italy, returned either to Germany, or to wait for the French on the other side of the mountains.

Disappointed in the field and in negociation, I returned to Vienna, to acquaint the emperor with my melancholy situation, and that of our affairs. He observed that I had nothing to reproach myself with, and as a proof of his sincerity, he gave me the command of his army in Hungary. "For the rest, sire," said I, "since I still have Italy at heart, the only way to have the duke of Savoy on our side is for him to declare against us. He will behave in the same manner to the French, and in a short time come over to us again."

Louis the Fourteenth, supposing perhaps that I was discontented or that others were dissatisfied with me, sent me a proposal to pass into his service. (9.) I gave a pretty reception to the person commissioned to speak to me on the subject, and who, I am sure, durst not transmit to him my answer such as it was.

1697.—The Turks are never in a hurry. The grand signor, Kara Mustapha, himself did me the honour to arrive at Sophia, with his army in the month of July. I collected mine at Verismarton; I called in Vaudemont and Rabutin, as it appeared to me to be the grand signior's design to make himself master of Titul,



that he might be able to lay siege to Peterwaradin. I encamped on the 26th of August at Zenta. General Nehm was attacked. I arrived too late to his assistance, but nevertheless praised him, for he could not have held out any longer, overwhelmed as he was by numbers. God be thanked, I never complained of any one, neither did I ever throw upon another the blame of a fault or misfortune. Titul was burned. The grand vizir remained on this side of the Danube, which it was necessary for the grand signior to cross before he could lay siege to Peterwaradin ; but marching along the bank of the river, and concealing my intention by my skirmishes with the spahis, I got before him, passed the bridge, and thus saved the place. This march, I must own, was well conducted, and equivalent to a victory. I entrenched myself with great despatch, and the enemy durst not attack me. Among some prisoners whom we took, there happened to be a pacha, whom I questioned in vain respecting the designs of Kara Mustapha ; but four hussars, with drawn sabres, ready to cut him in pieces, extorted the confession that the enemy at first intended to make an attempt on Segedin ; but that the grand signior having afterwards changed his mind, had already begun to cross the Teisse ; and that great part of the army under the command of the grand vizir was still in good entrenchments near Zenta. I was marching to attack them, when a cursed courier brought me an order from the emperor, not to give battle under any circumstance whatever.

I had already advanced too far. By stopping where I was, I should have lost part of my army, and my honour. I put the letter in my pocket, and, at the head of six regiments of dragoons, approached so near to the Turks, as to perceive that they were all preparing to pass the Teisse. I rejoined my army with a look of satisfaction, which, I was told, was considered a good omen by the soldiers. I began the engagement by charging in person two thousand spahis, whom I forced to return to their entrenchments. A hundred pieces of cannon annoyed me greatly. I sent orders to

Rabutin to advance his left wing so as to form a curve with it towards the right: and to Stahrenberg, who commanded the right, to do the same towards the left, with a view to take in the whole entrenchment by a semicircle. This I could not have ventured to do before Catinat, who would have interrupted me in so slow and so complicated a movement. The Turks, however, gave me no molestation. They attacked my left wing too late; yet they would have handled it roughly, but for four battalions of the second line, and the artillery, which I sent very opportunely to repel their cavalry, and make a breach in the entrenchments. It was six in the evening. The Turks, assaulted, and their entrenchments forced in all points, hurried in crowds to the bridge and choked it up, so that they were obliged to throw themselves into the Teisse, where those who escaped drowning were killed. On every side was heard the cry of *Aman! Aman!* which signifies quarter. At ten at night, the slaughter still continued; I could not take more than four thousand prisoners, for twenty thousand were left dead on the field, and ten thousand were drowned. I did not lose a thousand men. Those alone who first betook themselves to flight at the commencement of the battle, rejoined the corps which had remained on the opposite side of the river. (10.) It was the 11th of September: I sent Vaudemont, with the account of this affair to Vienna. I then went and took two forts and two castles in Bosnia, burned Seraio, and returned to Hungary into winter quarters.

I set out for Vienna, where I expected to be received a hundred times better than I had ever yet been. Leopold gave me the coldest of audiences; more dry than ever, he listened to me without saying a word. I instantly perceived that somebody or other had been at work during my absence, and that while I was riding myself of the Turks, some good Christians at Vienna had been trying to get rid of me. I went away from the audience with a feeling of indignation, which grew still stronger when Schlick, in great con-

sternation, came and demanded my sword. I delivered it into his trembling hand with a look of the profoundest disdain, which served to increase his dismay. It was reported that I said : " Take it, yet reeking with the blood of enemies ; I have no wish to resume it, except for the benefit of his majesty's service." One half of this sentence would have been a gasconade, and the other a mean resignation. My rage was silent. I was put under arrest in my hotel. Here I was soon informed that Gaspard Kinsky, and some others, wished me to be brought to trial for disobedience and rashness, and that I was to be tried by a court-martial, by which I should probably be sentenced to die. This report was soon circulated through the whole city. The people assembled about my house ; deputies from the body of citizens offered to guard me and to prevent my being taken away, in case of any determination to put the above-mentioned design in execution. I entreated them not to violate their duty as loyal subjects, nor to disturb the public tranquillity : I thanked them for their zeal, by which I was moved even to tears. The city of Vienna is small. This assemblage of the people was known at court in a few minutes. Either from fear or repentance, the emperor sent me my sword, with the request that I would still continue to command his army in Hungary. I replied I would, on condition that I should have a *carte blanche*, and be no longer exposed to the malice of his generals and ministers. The poor emperor durst not publicly give me these full powers, though he did privately in a note signed with his own hand ; and with this I thought proper to be content.

This anecdote of Leopold, whom I pity for not having felt that a more signal reparation was due to me, fully demonstrates the falsehood of a saying which has been ascribed to me ; that of the three emperors whom I have served, the first was my father, the second my brother, and the third my master. A pretty sort of a father truly, to order my head to be cut off for having saved his empire !

I must turn my eyes another way to look for energy. Behold it in the north. Charles the Twelfth, king of Sweden, at the age of fifteen, is the mediator of peace between the European powers. It was signed at Ryswick on the twenty-first day of September.

1698.—In consequence of this, my army received reinforcements from that of Germany; nevertheless, the Turks were four times as strong. I was disappointed of gaining another battle of Zenta. In vain I marched and countermarched; the infidels every where entrenched themselves. I then retreated to induce them to leave their holes; all my endeavours were fruitless. I would have marched into Bosnia; but they had received a reinforcement of forty thousand Tartars, and all the passes were guarded. I would have invested Temeswar; but they would have obliged me to raise the siege. Before they could have time to assemble for this operation, I thought I should be able to make myself master of the place, by intercepting a prodigious convoy on the point of entering it. I marched thither myself at the head of my cavalry, placing my infantry in ambuscade. A hussar who deserted occasioned the failure of this attempt. This was the most wretched campaign for my glory that ever I made in my life. I executed only thirty ring-leaders of a plot to revolt, formed by seven regiments, which, having received no pay for four months (for the court left me destitute of money) had resolved to go over to the Turks. On the 26th of January, the peace of Carlowitz was signed, that as usual, war might be carried on elsewhere.

1699.—I sent back my army, and set out for Vienna. This year I began my fine library, and conceived a passion for gardens and palaces.

I purchased from time to time some beautiful cabinet paintings and drawings that were not known. I was not rich enough to form a gallery, and was not fond of engravings, because other persons may possess the same. I never liked copies of any kind, and those

talents which run away with valuable time. A few wind instruments, martial airs, hunting tunes, flourishes of trumpets, or pleasing airs of comic operas, relieved me, during dinner, from the necessity of speaking or listening to tiresome persons.

1700.—A century of continual war was now at an end: the celebrated peace of Westphalia in 1648, which was to extend to all Europe, had not accomplished its object. The good advisers of Leopold, and Leopold himself, not corrected by my example, would have brought prince Louis of Baden to a court-martial for his campaign on the Rhine. Salm and Kaunitz were the only honest men who opposed this measure; they would, however, have been overpowered but for me. Influenced as much by justice as by consanguinity and intimate friendship, which I retained for him through my whole life, I loudly censured the proceeding, at the same time showing that I had not forgotten Zenta.

After the peace of Carlowitz, France was so polite as to send us M. Villars as her ambassador. He was received with great distinction by all those with whom he had been acquainted in Hungary, where he had gained great reputation as a volunteer, and by the whole city, who thought him extremely amiable. But intrigues were carried on at his court against ours without his knowledge. He was highly astonished at the coldness with which he was all at once treated. Notwithstanding the friendship of the king of the Romans for me, I could not prevail upon him to relax in this respect. "Of what use," said I to him, and to the courtiers and generals who followed his example, "is this personal antipathy, which M. Villars does not deserve? I shall see him, and continue on friendly terms with him, till we begin to fire upon one another again." Prince Louis of Baden acted in the same manner, though we were not the better liked for it. We all three parted very good friends. (11.) We missed his company much; for when Louis the Fourteenth had

at length completed all his machinations, and thrown off the mask, he departed. Previously to this we had the following conversation :

"It is not my fault," said he, "if, without knowing now to suppress your rebellion in Hungary, you are determined to make war upon us. I had rather your highness would act like those gentlemen who have turned their backs upon me here, as they will do elsewhere, if I command an army." This was truly a sally à la Villars. "You hope perhaps that the Turks will interfere, because the abbé Joachim has predicted that the empress will have twins, one of whom shall sit on the throne of Constantinople." (12.) "I am not angry with you, M. de Villars," replied I, "for in your correspondence, which to be sure is a little in the light French style, you have transmitted to your court a portrait of me drawn by the hand of friendship; but there are people who complain of certain inadvertencies, and the court of having read in one of your despatches : 'We shall see if the Christ in Leopold's chapel will speak to him as he did to Ferdinand the Second. He is there still, I have seen him with my own eyes.' Private individuals never forgive a satire; judge then of the effect which a sarcasm must produce upon a sovereign." "It is only with great reserve in conversation," said he, "that I have supported myself in this country. I am angry with your Austrians, who, among the tales which they invent concerning me, assert that I conspired with Ragotzi against the person of the emperor." "I can tell you," answered I, "what gave rise to this stupid idea. People recollected an expression in a letter intercepted while you were a volunteer in our service : 'I am an Austrian with the army, but a Frenchman at Vienna.' This implies a great deal, said the fools. No conspiracies have ever been formed against our emperors; they have never been assassinated. We have no Clements or Ravallacs. The people are not enthusiasts, as with you, but for that very reason, they do not run into extremes. Crimes indeed are very rare in Austria. Last year some

persons wanted to persuade Leopold that a design had been formed to kill him because a ball went through his hat while hunting. 'Seek the man,' said he, with his Spanish air; 'he is a bungler one way or other; he is dying of fear or of hunger; give him a thousand ducats.'

1701.—The war being on the point of breaking out afresh on account of the Spanish succession, a great council was held on the subject. I gave it as my opinion that the archduke should be immediately sent to Spain, and that an army should enter Lombardy. It was rejected by Leopold's honest advisers; but they had reason to repent it. Prince Louis was appointed to the chief command in the empire, as I was in Italy.

I had thirty thousand good veteran troops. The duke of Mantua having a French garrison placed in his capital, I know not whether with or without his consent, pretended that it was a commencement of hostilities on the part of Catinat: this afforded me a pretext for beginning mine.—But a word or two respecting this duke, of whom I have already made mention. Formigha was almost his prime minister. The abbé Fantoni, his lord of the bed-chamber, sometimes provided him courtezans, like one Mathia; sometimes a mistress, like the countess Calori; and at others a wife to secure him in the interest of Louis the Fourteenth, like a Condé or an Elbœuf, furnished by the king. Both of them being gained by France, prevented his marrying an Arcmburg, who would have rendered him favourable to us. The duke had nevertheless a seraglio guarded by eunuchs. Never was there seen so strange a creature.—Thanks to him, however, I was now in the full career of war, after ten days of incredible labour among mountains and precipices with two thousand pioneers; and part of my subsequent success was already decided, because I did not respect the neutrality of the republic of Venice.

Catinat, having received from his court positive orders not to violate that neutrality, could not oppose my entering the Veronese. On leaving the Trentino.

I sent my excuses by a major to the most serene republic, and continued my march. Catinat was waiting for me at another place, where I should have had *défils* to pass through, and have been beaten, but for the expedient, not the most delicate, indeed, which I had adopted. This was a proper case for urging imperious circumstances, misunderstanding, and the uncertainty of a general permission in a republic, as an excuse, and I failed not to avail myself of it. By passing the Adige and the Po, I induced Catinat to extend his army; I attacked and routed St Fremont at Carpi. Tessé came to his relief and prevented his total destruction, which would have been inevitable had not the roads stopped Commerci with my cavalry. I nevertheless put to flight those two generals, cut off from Catinat, who was waiting for me at Ostiglia, and while pursuing and charging them at the head of the cuirassiers, I received a severe wound from a musket-shot in my left knee. Having joined Commerci, Catinat durst not give me battle, or rather go on with that which had been almost one continued action. He took advantage of the night to cross the Mincio. I followed him from the other side of the river, because he had not time to call in all his detachments; and the duke of Savoy, who began his old tricks, had not thought fit to send him his troops. Catinat retreated upon Chiesa, and thus was I master of all the country between the Adige and the Adda, excepting Mantua. I had kept up a regular correspondence with Victor Amadæus, with whom I had a notion that I should be able to do something. One must employ artifice in Italy. I bribed a Franciscan of Mantua, and he gained over the whole convent. Under the pretence of confessing us in our camp, the monks carried arms away with them under their clothes to despatch the guard at the nearest gate, which they were to open to my soldiers, disguised as peasants, one day when I was to go with a large retinue to hear mass at Notre Dame de Grace. They had likewise gained the inhabitants; but being discovered and disarmed,



they were punished as they deserved, and thus my scheme was frustrated.

The duke of Savoy satisfied with having again become generalissimo, and married his daughter to the duke of Burgundy, repaired to the army of the two crowns. I paid him my compliments out of respect, and made him a present, out of friendship, of some beautiful Turkish horses, some of the spoils of Zenta. He ventured to accept but one. Louis the Fourteenth, angry because I had deceived Catinat, did me the great favour of putting the ignorant and presumptuous Villeroy in the place of one of the best generals that France ever had. When the duke of Savoy proposed to undertake any thing, and said to him, "I am generalissimo:" Villeroy would reply, "I have orders from the king." So indeed he had to seek me wherever I might be, and to engage me. My cousin had the kindness to apprize me of this. I wanted Chiari for the head of my camp: the Venetian commandant talked to me about neutrality, but I told him that was a thing I only laughed at. He requested me to accept his protest, and I signed just what he pleased. The enemy outwitted me: I was his dupe this time, I must confess. Pracontal with all the drums of the army made such a noise at the bridge of Palazzuolo, that the corps destined to prevent the passage of the Oglio continued there, and the enemy crossed in another place. I took a position so as to front on three sides. The generous Catinat, instead of rejoicing to see his commander beaten, said to him. "Do not fight; let us retreat." The duke of Savoy, on the contrary, who wished Villeroy to get a sound drubbing, said, "Fight! let us attack! Catinat is timid, you know."

On the 1st of September, on my left my post of Chiari, notwithstanding its excellence, was nearly forced by the unparalleled impetuosity of the French: the houses, mills, and all were already carried. Never did I witness such valour. Daun drove them back. My right, concealed on the ground behind an entrench-

ment, suddenly started up and fired when the enemy had advanced quite close. Villeroy ordered an attempt to be made with the centre; but this scarcely ever succeeds when the wings are beaten.

The worthy, the admirable Catinat rallied the troops, led them back to the attack, and received a severe contusion on the breast, and a shot in his hand. As for Victor Amadæus, he was every where; he exposed himself like the most determined of the soldiers, and had a horse killed under him. What a singular character! This time he wished to lose the battle; but habitual courage stifled the suggestions of policy.

Notwithstanding the loss of the combined army, it was still much stronger than mine. I again took a good position; the two advantages which I had gained had somewhat lowered the presumption and lofty tone of Villeroy. The only actions now fought, were between the advanced posts and small detachments. Mine always had the advantage, because my spies, to whom I often gave three hundred ducats for a trifling piece of information, apprized me of the slightest movement. The only thing to be done was to decamp; the first who should break up ran the risk of being beaten, and it was nevertheless absolutely necessary to go into winter quarters.

My horses were destitute of provender; dead leaves were given them to eat; my men fell away perceptibly, but were attached to me, and endured their hardships with patience; while Villeroy's, who likewise suffered, but in a much less degree, deserted by hundreds. I set an example of temperance and patience. To relieve our ennui, my Vaudemont formed a plan for carrying off his father from his quarters. Awakened by the discharge of a musket, he escaped in his morning gown, and this attempt of filial piety miscarried. So did my scheme too; for Catinat stole away under favour of the night from his camp, and repassed the Oglio. Deceived, or rather ill served on this occasion, which was nevertheless of great importance to me, I hurried thither in spite of the darkness, and instead of

destroying Villeroy, only took from him four hundred prisoners, and to be sure did some execution on the other side of the river with my artillery, which followed me at full gallop.

The French, dying of hunger and fatigue, went into cantonments. The Venetians would not give me any in the Bressano. To fight with the prospect of being beaten, and to retire into Tyrol, appeared to me to be equally hard. Whither was I then to go for the winter? Judging the most hazardous step to be the most prudent, I threw myself into the territories of Mantua, took by assault Canette, the ancient Bibriacum, thanks to one of Daun's men, who amidst a shower of shot cut the rope of a drawbridge, and afterwards made myself master of Mascaria, Rodolesco, and the bridge of Gazolo.

Two little disasters befell detachments of mine, I know not whether through my fault, or through the fault of Drack, who commanded one, or of Mercè, who commanded the other. The latter was taken prisoner, and was just going to be put to death by way of retaliation, when he was saved by a French officer. He had fallen into an ambuscade formed by Tessé, who had left Mantua upon this expedition, which did him honour. I gained possession, notwithstanding, of all the Mantuano, excepting Goito and Mantua, which I blockaded. I know not whether it was the heart or the understanding of the princess of Mirandola that pleaded with her in my behalf; but she gave a grand supper to all the principal French officers to afford me an opportunity of surprising the place. I took Berselo in spite of the duke of Modena, who made believe to oppose me. The duke of Parma absolutely insisted that my troops should not enter his dominions: I laughed at his protestations and those of the pope, whose vassal he called himself. Guastalla had already surrendered to me, and after having thus set to rights all these petty princes of Italy, I occupied three of their provinces to give rest to my troops during the whole winter.

1702.—To myself alone I allowed none ; I posted from one quarter to another, and observed with pleasure the negligence that prevailed among the French. "I must," said Villeroy, "make these three princes dance the rigadon during the carnival." This excited in us a desire to anticipate him by surprising Cremona, by Commerci on one side, and Vaudemont on the other. The latter lost his way in the night : one of my detachments had entered by a sewer ; I was already master of one of the gates of the city, the barracks, and some streets. These lines, put into the mouths of the French soldiers, record the rest of the story, which is besides perfectly well known :

By the favour of Bellona,  
And Fortune's smiles most liberal,  
We again have found Cremona,  
And have lost our general.

Villeroy, taken by our soldiers, who had thrown him down from his horse, without hat, without wig, and without sword, so that it was impossible to know him again, said to Macdonnel, "I am the Marshal ; save me, and I will give you a regiment of cavalry and a pension of two thousand crowns." The streets were dyed with blood. To put an end to all these petty conflicts, I sent Commerci to ask Villeroy to order them all to cease, and the French to surrender. He had the good sense to reply : "Who would obey a prisoner?"—And when he saw Crenan, who had been killed, carried along, he observed : "I envy his fate." I repaired to the townhouse to rouse the citizens. Mahoni said to one of my officers : Quarter for M. "Freiberg !"—" 'Tis not a day for mercy," replied the latter ; "do your duty, and I will do mine,"—and Freiberg was killed. Our soldiers, and in particular the cuirassiers with whom I was not perfectly satisfied on the score of courage and order, were repulsed on every side. Before they were completely driven out of the city, went to see Villeroy, whom I could not help pitying I sent him off to Inspruck, and issued orders for a retreat, which it would have been extremely difficult to

effect, if Crepui had cut me off from the rest of my army. I admired the valour of the French, roused from their sleep, and half naked, every where making the most determined resistance, and also the intelligence of their officers. In this qualification mine were extremely deficient. I had the glory of surprising and the disgrace of not keeping what I had gained : but when you are unsuccessful, 'tis much the same as if you had made no attempt. I went to invest Mantua more closely : its duke was dying of fear and famine, notwithstanding all the exertions of Tessé, who behaved most admirably : he had even the address sometimes to deceive my parties, while he introduced supplies of provisions into the city.

The able, the intrepid, the good, the amiable, the generous, the dexterous discoverer of his enemies' projects, sometimes indiscreet respecting his own, the affable, the indolent Vendôme came to succeed Ville-roy. On his arrival he made several movements with his army : I did the same with mine, clearly perceiving that it was his intention to attack me, or to relieve Mantua. The court of Vienna not having given me a sufficient number of troops, either out of malice, or from the want of means, this outset of Vendôme's was highly brilliant : he took from me all my small towns and all my communications. I entrenched myself wherever I went ; and the better to watch his motions, I took a camp very near his.

Churlish people have found fault with me for the attempt to seize Vendôme in his house at Rivalto, on the banks of the Lake of Mantua, where he had his head-quarters, made by Davia, whom I sent for the purpose with fifty men in boats. One of his soldiers killed the sentinel, whom Davia had directed to be carried off. The guard hastened to the spot. Davia reembarked, and did wrong to order his men, as they were coming away, to fire at Vendôme's windows.

In the first place, in war let him trick the other who can ; and in the next it was doing him an honour ; for Catinat himself would not have executed his manœuvres

with such rapidity At any rate he was soon even with me, Vendôme caused twelve pieces of canon to be placed on a height, and ordered them to play upon my house. I rose, for it was ready to tumble about my ears. Commerci's was burned by the red-hot balls, and others battered down; the tents of my guard were pierced, and about a hundred men killed. This I thought perfectly natural, but rather long, for the cannonade lasted three hours, though I never complained of it.

Unwilling to remove any farther from Mantua, I raised the entrenchments of my camp to the height of twenty feet. Who would believe that I had learned something from the Turks, and that the Turks had learned something from the Romans? This practice must, I should think, have been transmitted to them by colonies of that people, like the Etruscan forms of vases and pitchers, which are to be found in every cottage. I return to my subject.

I could not boast of the smallest advantage over Vendôme. A large detachment to watch him, commanded by Visconti, who had three horses killed under him, was surprised and beaten. Commerci, though with nothing but his boots on his bare legs, arrived too late, and without being obliged to go, for he was ill. I plainly perceived that I must raise the blockade of Mantua, collect all my detachments and little garrisons, and give battle with my twenty-six thousand men. I marched towards the Seraio, and Vendôme to Luzara, from which place the little garrison that I still had there retired to a tower. From the Seraio I went and crossed the Po, at the commencement of the canal of Zero, and concealed all my infantry behind a great dike, near the spot upon which the enemy had fixed for his camp. At the moment when the combined army, deceived by my spies, was just about to enter the place, we were discovered by the greatest of accidents. I ordered my soldiers to climb the dike; they scrambled up as well as they could, and I rushed upon the enemy, who had not time to form in order of battle.

My cavalry, with fascines, which I had given them for the purpose, made a passage to support my infantry. The gallant Commerci, my dearest friend and my best general, fell while engaging the left wing. Lichtenstein took his place, and was likewise killed. Langallerie rallied that wing and repulsed the victors, afflicted by the loss of their officers. They returned to the charge, and recovered their ground. Meanwhile my left wing was beaten. Stahrenberg rallied it. Vaudemont came to its assistance, and performed prodigies. I was successful in the centre, notwithstanding the presence of Vendôme, who was also in the centre of his army; and yet I should have been defeated, had I not remarked that part of my cavalry, hitherto of no use, as was likewise that of the allies, from the nature of the ground, might, by crossing some ditches of no great breadth, and passing through some copses, by no means thick, decide the success of my left, and ensure mine. It would seem that it is lying upon the field of battle which renders the victory certain. It was apparently out of politeness to the king of Spain that Vendôme ordered *Te Deum* to be sung. I was informed that the duke of Mantua was by the side of that king during the whole battle, which gives me a high idea of his prudence. As for the duke of Savoy, he had none of that kind of prudence; he fought in his usual way, but displeased every body by his subtlety. He had been ill received when he repaired to the army of Philip the Fifth who left it two days after the battle, and returned to Spain. Before I abandoned Mantua entirely, I attempted to gain admission into the city by means of my clandestine agents, but was again disappointed. A deserter prevented my being taken when on the point of falling into an ambuscade. I had done all that I could do: I had gained some glory and lost a great deal of ground. It was not my fault: only consider the superiority of Vendôme's army, which was double the number of mine. Of all my posts I retained Ostiglia alone; and yet I would not go into winter quarters till I had seen the French into theirs.

I sent Solari to cover the Trentino, and set out for Vienna, where I had not been for two years.

1703.—The emperor made me war-minister instead of Mansfeld. I told him that war could not be carried on without troops and money; that for six months the men had received none, and been in want of every necessary. I wished the other commanders to be better supplied than I had been; and this was accordingly done. I put a stop to the peculations committed in every department. I said to the emperor, "Your army, sire, is your monarchy; without it your dominions will yet fall a prey to the Turks, the French, or perhaps one of these days to the Hungarians. Your capital is a frontier town. Your majesty has no fortress on any side; every one is paid excepting those who serve you. Make peace, sire, if you cannot carry on war; and it is evident that you cannot without the money of England. What are your ministers doing, to take no advantage of the hatred against France, and to embroil you with all Europe, even with your own subjects? Besides, if your imperial majesty do not give me orders to bring over entirely to our side the duke of Savoy, who is half gained already, you will never be fortunate in Italy." I carried my point. This was the only ministerial success I met with this year; and my only military success consisted in repulsing the Hungarian rebels so smartly as to prevent any farther alarm at Vienna, and to save Presburg. Though minister at war, I could not even give myself the army which Leopold had promised me, and was unable to do any thing farther.

1704.—This was no great deal indeed; but at last, as I had foreseen, Caroli, at the head of the malecontents, entered the suburbs of Vienna on Easter Sunday. I know not why they were afraid, and did not proceed to the court; for I found it a difficult task to collect the little garrison and the citizens, whom I posted behind an entrenchment which I ordered to be hastily thrown up at St Mark's, and which was afterwards continued on the right and left to the Danube. The



few troops that we had between Vienna and Presburg, and between Presburg and Raab, had been dispersed. In vain I begged that reinforcements might be sent to them. Owing to this lesson, some were given to Heister, who cut off the retreat of the scouts that had been to Vienna, and defeated the detachments coming to their aid. I went myself into Hungary to conduct the war for a moment, and then to conclude an accommodation with Rigotzi, Berezeni, &c.

Leopold could never bear to hear plain truths but when he was afraid. Where is the mistress or the friend to whom they can be told with impunity—much less a great sovereign, spoiled by slaves, who accompany him every day to church, but not his generals to war? In urgent cases I requested an extraordinary audience of him, as if I had been the ambassador of some foreign power, and this I obtained but very seldom.

“Forced levies, once more,” said I; “militia, a loan in Holland, which is good for nothing else. Few taxes, but a kind of capitation, and no bounties to monks and courtiers, though the court itself ought always to be magnificent. Of what use is it, in conferences with monied men, who are acquainted with the resources of states, and the specie of different countries, to read memoirs to be discussed before your majesty? they laugh at our finances, while, for my part, I weep over them. Try to find out, if possible, a Colbert in your dominions.”

What I obtained was, the power of negotiating quite alone, and I gained over to our side queen Anne and Marlborough. I went to meet him at Heilbronn, to concert measures with him and Prince Louis of Baden, whom I had not seen for a considerable time. I took upon myself the defence of the lines of Belhel, and left them to follow Tallard, who was endeavouring to join the elector of Bavaria. If I am not fortunate enough to prevent their junction, thought I, the worst that can befall me is to fight both together, which will save me the trouble of engaging them separately. Tallard and Malsin had two other sorts of presumption than Vil-

teroy, and more understanding. The presumption of the one was founded on the victory gained by him at Spire ; that of the other on the divine protection, which, by the cabals of the pious, had certainly proved as beneficial to him as the patronage of the court. Tallard was as short-sighted morally, as he was physically. Marsin was more penetrating, possessed more talents, but luckily no prudence.

Had they exercised patience, without fighting me, they would have obliged me to abandon Batavia, for I had no place in that country where I could form my magazines, except Nordlingen ; but these gentlemen were in a great hurry, and the elector was furious at the pillage which I had suffered Marlborough to commit, and who, in consequence, became my firm friend. We sincerely loved and esteemed each other. He was indeed a great statesman and general.

They had eighty thousand men, and so had we. Why were the French separated from the Bavarians ? why did they encamp so far from the rivulet which would have embarrassed us in the attack ? why did they place twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons in Blenheim ? why did they scatter so many troops in other villages ? Marlborough was more fortunate than I in his passage of the rivulet, and his fine attack. A little steepness of the bank occasioned my being half an hour later. My infantry behaved very well, but my cavalry very ill. I had a horse killed under me. Marlborough was checked, but not repulsed. I succeeded in rallying the regiments, which were rhy at first, and led them four times to the charge. Marlborough, with his infantry and attillery, and sometimes with his cavalry, cleared away that of the enemy, and took Blenheim. We were beaten for a moment by the gendarmerie, but at length we threw them into the Danube. I was under the greatest obligations to Marlborough for his changes in the dispositions according to circumstances. A Bavarian dragoon took aim at me ; one of my Danes fortunately anticipated him. We lost nine thousand men ; but twelve thousand eight

hundred French killed, and twenty thousand eight hundred taken prisoners, prevented them this time from singing their usual *Te Deum* for their defeats, which they never acknowledge. I wrote to the king of Prussia to inform him of the gallant conduct of Anhalt and his corps.

The poor elector, with his corps, joined Villeroy, who had marched to favour his retreat. They mournfully embraced. "I have sacrificed my dominions for the king," said the former, "and I am ready to sacrifice my life for him." The duke and prince (for Marlborough was now created a prince of the empire,) Louis of Baden, and I, went to amuse ourselves at Stuttgart. The second took Landau, the first Trarbach, while I narrowly missed the two Brisachs: the one, because the governor of Fribourg mistook his way, and the other, from the false delicacy of the lieutenant-colonel, whom I had directed to enter as a courier with some others, and who being unable to endure a caning from an overseer of the works of the place, ordered him to be fired upon. This was indeed insisting very unseasonably on a point of honour, and the only occasion on which a man might, without disgrace, receive a thrashing. Had we succeeded, he would rather have been envied than reproached for it. I proceeded to Ingolstadt, which was on the point of surrendering, but was prevented by the valour of a French regiment, composed of brave deserters in the Bavarian service. They disregarded alike my promises and my threats; but astonishing them by the generous offer of sending them home under an escort, that nothing might happen to them, they evacuated Ingolstadt; and with the exception of Munich, all Bavaria was ours, thanks to the treaty which I concluded with the electress. The conditions were hard; she refused them; but by means of father Schuhmacher, a good Jesuit, her confessor, I prevailed on her to sign them, and set out for Vienna.

1705.—Feeling for the condition of the duke of Savoy, who had again become a staunch Austrian, and

not being supported by the court of Vienna, had been reduced to the brink of ruin; (43) I represented it to the emperor. "Well," said he, "take him reinforcements, and command the army in Italy."—"Sire," I replied, "I remember my last campaign, in which, being left without money and without troops, either through stupidity or roguery, malice or jealousy, I was made to relinquish the blockade of Mantua, to lose all the towns which I had taken, and to derive no benefit from my victory at Luzara. They intercepted my letters to your majesty, and want to compromise my honour. I would rather lay all my employments at your feet, and retire I know not whither to spend my life in peace. Here are twenty-two years of active service—the last ten of court storms and mortifications. I did hope to reconquer one half of the Spanish succession, but notwithstanding my victory at Hochstett, I am still in fear for your majesty's dominions, which would have been lost, had I been defeated."

Leopold promised me twenty-eight thousand men, punctually paid, and in want of nothing. I would not set off till they were gone, and proceeded to Roveredo. Mirandola had just surrendered: I entered the Bressano. Vendôme marched to attack me, but having been prevented by me from occupying the height of Gavardo, he durst not. There it was that I heard of the death of the emperor: I had a greater love for Joseph the First who succeeded him; but, as the son is almost always the reverse of the father, I was apprehensive that he would abandon the duke of Savoy, for whom I was indeed responsible. So far from it, he wrote to me to continue, and immediately sent me one hundred thousand florins for the payment of the troops.

Leopold possessed good qualities, but I know not why some Spanish and Austrian flatterers have tried to call him Leopold the Great. The attempt to be sure has not succeeded. He detested the French to such a degree that he forbade a single word of that language to be spoken at his court. I helped myself out with Italian, with which I am better acquainted than with

German, though I find no difficulty to understand and to give orders in that language.

Vendôme went away into Piedmont, and directed his brother, the grand prior, to starve me in my camp at Gavardo, in order to oblige me to quit the Bressano. I attempted to dislodge him from the villa of La Couline, an important post. This led to a combat unparalleled for courage and resources; seven grenadiers defended the pigeon-house. Had Würtemberg set fire to the villa immediately on his arrival there, he must have been successful. The grand prior came to its relief: not daring to risk a general engagement, I attempted the passage of the Oglio. This was absolutely necessary, for the duke of Savoy had nothing but Turin left. I succeeded, but how? I was obliged to employ stratagem upon stratagem, and to avail myself of the indolence of the grand prior, whom I knew to be fond of his bed, and to steal a march upon him under favour of the night. He strove, on rising, to retrieve this fault with incredible diligence; and when he had nearly overtaken me, I faced about to attack him. The position which he took made me afraid; and contrary to my custom I called a council of war, pretty certain that it would decide against an attack.

I suspected also that Toralba, the Spaniard, was not good for much. I drove him out of Palazzuolo, threatening to shoot him if he threw into the Oglio the provisions of which I was in the greatest want. He escaped to Bergamo. Visconti and Joseph of Lorraine, who were there wounded, came up with him, and instead of defending the height on which he was very advantageously posted, a few cannon shot induced him to surrender with nine hundred men. Only imagine the rage and astonishment of the grand prior. Palazzuolo and Ponte d'Oglio having surrendered, I advanced to cross the Adda, the only barrier of the Milanese.

I went and took Soncino; and learning that the French head-quarters were at Solesino, I said to my generals: "Albergotti has certainly joined the

grand prior, and from this bold movement I would wager that Vendôme has come back to the army." Of this I was still more strongly convinced, when, having ordered the post of Quatorze Naviles to be occupied by Wetzel, Vendôme himself came to dislodge him. His grenadiers attacked the bridge, while other troops plunged into the water on the right and left to take my detachment on both flanks. Here was a display of valour, intelligence, and vivacity, the characteristics of the French soldier.

Vendôme wanted to fight, but I did not; my object was to assist the duke of Savoy, by a diversion in the Mantuano; Vendôme strove to prevent me. Vendôme, without being so negligent as his brother, had a little of his indolence. I stole a march upon him during the night, and arrived in two forced marches on the banks of the Adda. I took possession of a magnificent country-house belonging to the Jesuits of Bergamo, called *Il Paradiso*. I should have crossed the Adda quietly, but one of my waggons with pontoons broke down by the way.

The Adda, nearly a torrent at that moment, was not easy to pass; its rapidity rendered it difficult to join the pontoons. Vendôme had time to come up; but a kind of amphitheatre composed of my grenadiers for the protection of the workmen, sickened him of the design to interrupt them. Colmenero, the Spaniard, apprized me of every thing. I determined to go and fight the grand prior; he decamped, though slowly, in consequence of positive orders from his brother. I intended to cross the Adda by the bridge of Cassano; Vendôme opposed me: each strove to outwit the other. I resolved to put an end to all this by a battle. I had been informed that Vendôme usually took a nap in the afternoon, from which no person durst awake him, for fear of putting him into an ill humour. Linange made himself master of the villa and bridge of Ritorto: he was repulsed. I arrived there, recovered every thing, and penetrated the left of the French. Vendôme came up also with his gilded troop, which was thinned

in a moment by our fire. He had a horse killed under him, and received a ball through his boot. I received a musket-shot in the neck, and notwithstanding the blood, which flowed copiously, I remained till a second ball below the knee obliged me to retire to get my wounds dressed. The defeat of the French would have been certain, could I have taken a redoubt. I sent word to Anhalt to put an end to a firing which galled me in the centre and on the left. Ardent and brave as he was, he plunged with his horse into the Ritorto, followed by the Prussians, who were up to the chin in water; he was wounded. Würtemberg did the same on the right, and was killed. The arms and ammunition of both having got wet, they were unable to return the fire of the French. They made themselves masters of the castle of Cassano. Bebra, Rewentlau, and Joseph of Lorraine, a young prince of nineteen, fell while checking the enemy, and firmly maintaining their ground on this side of the Ritorto, which they had been obliged to recross, and which the enemy respected as a barrier that I had appointed for him. He seemed to renounce all inclination to pass it, as I on my part gave up the passage of the Adda. If this can be called losing a battle, I acknowledge myself defeated. I went and took an excellent post at Trevigio. The self-termed conquerors were apparently in greater confusion than the vanquished, for not a creature approached my rear. These would-be victors lost more men than those whom they gave out to be conquered; they left me some standards and prisoners, and had thrown a great number of carriages into the canal. (45.) Though Vendôme had been joined by his brother, who had slept at Rivalto, two leagues from the battle, and was on that account sent away from the army, he applied for reinforcements to La Feuillade, because he thought that I designed to attack him. I did not indeed effect a junction with the duke of Savoy; but by these reinforcements, which I obliged Vendôme to require of La Feuillade, I frustrated the plan for besieging and taking Turin. Did I lose the battle? I pretend not

to decide the question. At any rate I find no fault with myself for having fought it. A signal success would have rendered me master of Italy; and the want of success, which is different from a reverse, and which I may ascribe to my two wounds, did not prevent me from resorting to my old tricks all the rest of the campaign against Vendôme, and quietly taking up my winter-quarters behind the mountains at Calcinato, Lunato, &c. Before I went into them, I had attempted some little enterprises, all of which were frustrated by Vendôme. Not to be beaten by such a man is more glorious than to beat another. I set out for Vienna.

1706.—Marlborough arrived at Vienna. I had written to him that his presence would be necessary. I presented him to the emperor: how he was received may easily be imagined. He helped me to obtain assistance for the duke of Savoy. "Queen Anne," said he, "sent me for this purpose. We will lend your imperial majesty twenty-five thousand pounds sterling, and I hope to beat the enemy in the Low Countries." He returned thither, and I to Italy. I arrived at Roveredo at the same time as the fugitives of my army, the command of which I had given to Rewentlau, who had just sustained a defeat at Calcinato. I had but too well cured Vendôme of his indolence. Informed of my departure from Vienna, he had got the start of me in rejoining his army. He had counterfeited illness, and taken medicines before a great number of persons, as if he had actually been sick; but all at once throwing away his draughts, his *robe de chambre*, and his nightcap, he mounted his horse in the night between the 18th and 19th of April, for this superb expedition. I rallied the fugitives, and hastened to Gavardo to prevent Vendôme from cutting off my communication with the Trentino. Vendôme used astonishing despatch in all his movements; I had great difficulty in getting away from him. Never had I yet so hard a task. I nevertheless contrived to make myself master of several posts,



with a view to secure the bank of the Adige. This was highly requisite, in order to raise the siege of Turin.

Luckily, thanks to the discernment of Louis the Fourteenth, La Feuillade was charged with the conduct of the siege. The city had been very imperfectly invested; two posts were unoccupied. Vendôme was watching my motions from the other side of the Adige; it was, notwithstanding, absolutely necessary for me to cross that river. Another Venetian commandant took it into his head to refuse me a passage at La Badia. I ordered the gate to be broken open by my grenadiers, and perceiving that Vendôme was no longer with the army, having gone to Milan to resign the command to the duke of Orleans, I first returned thanks to God for it, and without giving myself much trouble, I deluded the French, who were guarding three posts, and crossed the Adige, where they least expected me.

Tessé had lost Spain at Barcelona; Villeroy the Low Countries at Ramillies, and La Feuillade was destined to lose Italy. I crossed the Tanaro and the Po. Vendôme had carried with him the love, the heart, and the spirit of the French. I passed the Secchia and the canal of Ledo, and again thanked God for having taken Vendôme away from me. The duke of Parma sent me compliments, forage, and allowances for the troops, in his dominions. The duke of Savoy despatched a lord belonging to his court to entreat me to come to him. He was unpleasantly situated with his little corps out of the city, the command of which he had left to Daun. To the former I wrote that all would soon end well; and to the latter that, intending to be at Nice de la Paille on the 30th of August, I would soon deliver to him in Turin, as a reward for his fine defence, the appointment of general of infantry, which the emperor had given me for him. I caused Goito to be taken by the prince of Hesse, and La Stradella by Kirschbaum. I marched only in the night, on account of the heat, by which we were greatly

incommoded. I crossed the Bormida, and having rested on the 27th quite close to the Tanaro, I entered Piedmont, at the place which I had mentioned to the commandant of Turin, two days earlier than I had promised him a fortnight before. I very quickly acquainted him with my arrival, at the same time ordering him to thank his brave garrison in my name. "That great calculator Catinat," said I to myself, "and the active and rapid Vendôme (when it was necessary for him to be so,) would not have suffered me to do all this." Once more I returned thanks to heaven, for when one is fortunate, one is devout. "Probably," said I again to myself, "the extensive power and shallow understanding of Marsin, counteract the abilities and valour of the duke of Orleans." I went and joined the duke of Savoy, below Carmagnole, and our soldiers, when they saw us embrace, threw their hats into the air, shouting: "Long live Joseph the First and Victor Amadæus!" and I think I heard some cries too of "Long live Eugene!"

La Feuillade made an assault on the 30th, and was repulsed with great loss. The duke of Orleans, more skilful than his two colleagues, wanted to march against me. Marsin told him in the council of war, that probably I was only anxious to throw succours into the city: and that with the rest I should be a spectator of its fall. All the generals agreed in opinion with the duke of Orleans. Marsin produced a paper signed by the king. The prince flew into a passion. "Gentlemen," said he, "I find that I have a tutor. Let my post-chaise be got ready, I shall be gone." He did not however depart, because he had a desire to fight. I sent Visconti to intercept a considerable convoy.

Turin had held out four months, and could resist no longer; we marched at length to its relief. The duke of Savoy and I ascended a height, from which we beheld uncertain movements in the enemy's camp. "Those people," said I, "are already half beaten, cousin." All our artillery gave a tremendous discharge. The battle began; the duke of Savoy and myself ran

whithersoever we thought our presence needful. This time he fought in good earnest, and with all his heart, as one might be sure he would, since it was *pro domo sua* . . . . The right wing was at first repulsed, because it could not attack so soon as the left. Anhalt set all to rights again with his brave Prussian infantry, and I at the head of some squadrons. For an hour and a half some advantages were gained on either side; it was a carnage but not a battle. Our troops at length leaped into the entrenchments of the French, but threw themselves into disorder in the pursuit. Three pieces of cannon, well posted, checked the carbineers, who, but for this, would have roughly handled my cuirassiers, and perhaps my infantry. In rallying the latter, whose character had been already somewhat slurred, one of my pages and a valet de chambre were killed behind me, and my horse, wounded with a carbine-shot, threw me into a ditch. I was thought to be dead, and it is said that for a very short time this produced some effect on the troops. The order which I gave when getting again on horseback covered with mud, dust, and blood, to Stahrenberg's regiment to pour a volley upon the French cavalry, relieved my infantry of the latter, and it maintained its ground in that part of the lines which it had forced. Their centre stood firm. Rehlinger was thrice repulsed by the duke of Orleans, who received two musket balls. It was the duke of Savoy who at length forced his way in person into the entrenchments.

We were now enabled to give assistance to the prince of Saxe Gotha, who performed wonders on the right, but could not succeed on account of the castle of Lucento. The Saxons then leaped into the entrenchments, forced Pont Cassine, and in every quarter the victory was looked upon as won, when the enemy rallied and attacked us in the field of battle, of which we had just made ourselves masters. Daun, though pressed by La Feuillade, made a sally at this critical moment, and decided the victory. I know not how things might have turned out, if Albergotti had not been silly enough to

remain a spectator upon the heights of the Capuchins with forty battalions. So much is certain, that, but for this, the most obstinately contested battle I ever saw might have lasted much longer; though, not expecting so stupid a procedure, I had troops in readiness to take him in flank, if he had attempted to come down to me. This was the 7th of September.

My good fortune had decreed that Marsin, who fell in this engagement, should wait for me with his eighty thousand men behind his lines; if he had come out to attack me at first, and to turn me, I should have been a good deal embarrassed with my thirty thousand. I was under great obligations in this affair to two French officers, Bonneval and Langallerie, imprudent men, who turned out ill, but to whom I was then much attached for their bravery and intelligence. I had some influence with the emperor Joseph, and had taken them as generals into his service. 'Tis a pity they turned out as they did: they pretended to be free-thinkers, who are almost always unsteady. The affectation of irreligion, is, independent of its foolish impiety, a mark of bad taste.

Before I gave myself up entirely to joy, fearing lest the discomfited besiegers should endeavour to cover the Milanese, I took out my perspective glass, which I never use but when I cannot approach near to reconnoitre; and perceiving them flying rather than retreating, towards Pignerol, I said to the duke of Savoy, "Italy is ours, cousin."

It may easily be imagined how we were received in Turin, where the little gunpowder left in the city was scarcely sufficient to fire a general salute of artillery during the *Te Deum*. "This time, at least," said I to Daun, whom I cordially embraced, "I think Louis the Fourteenth will not order *Te Deum* to be sung at Paris."

The day after the great battle, the prince of Hesse was defeated in a little affair by Medavi; but this did me no harm: I continued the pursuit. The Vaudois put the fugitives to the sword. We took Chivas, Novara,

Milan, the citadel of which we blockaded; Lodi, Pizzighitone, Tortona, Alexandria, Seravalle, and Casal. Proceeding thence to reconnoitre the post of Cavacurta, I received a very severe contusion from a musket-ball, on my left arm.

1707.—Our generalissimo remained well pleased at Turin, while I went into winter-quarters; and both of us agreed to lay siege to Toulon, after we had taken the citadels of Milan and of Modena, and some other small posts, which induced Louis the Fourteenth to make us an offer to evacuate Italy. We acquiesced on condition of his restoring something to the duke of Mantua, Mirandola to its duke, and a good deal to the duke of Savoy, as his compensation. Daun signed the convention on our side, and St Peter on that of the French, on the 7th of March.

I know not what induced Joseph the First to send me to the Rhine instead of the prince of Baden. I wrote to him that it was certainly a trick of my enemies, that it was contrary to my wish, and that I was in a fair way in this country. I did not indeed anticipate the failure of our plan against Toulon: we should infallibly have taken that city, had we not been obliged to lose time in the conquest of Naples, where a conspiracy was formed in favour of the house of Austria. Two cursed cardinals, Grimani and Pignatelli, who were engaged in it, overruled the duke of Savoy's opinion and mine: absent persons have but little influence at court. Louis the Fourteenth would have been more mortified by the conquest of Dauphiné, Languedoc, and Provence. In vain did Tessé oppose our passage of the mountains: I passed them on the 4th of July, at the Col de Tende, and the duke of Savoy, and the other corps elsewhere. We crossed the Var, marched to Frejus, and arrived before Toulon.

The duke of Savoy directed me to carry the heights of St Catherine, where I posted the young prince of Saxe Gotha. The duke of Savoy promised him a reinforcement of four battalions, if he should be attacked; but they could not reach him in time. Never did the

French make so sudden and so furious an attack. This prince, who though but twenty years of age, was a lieutenant-general in the armies of the emperor, of England, and of Holland, handsome and accomplished in every way, defended himself like a lion. He had already lost a great number of his men: two hundred were yet left him; these were reduced to thirty or forty, to whom he said:—"My friends, let us at least die like men of honour." He was instantly killed by two musket-balls. Works, entrenchments, batteries, were all ruined and carried. Every thing was to be begun again. I was inconsolable for the death of the young prince; but I was somewhat comforted for the loss of St Catherine's by the taking of the forts of St Margaret and St Louis. In secret, however, I said to myself: (Of what use will this be to us? Tessé made excellent arrangements in the city, and I shrewdly suspected that the expedition to Naples, which had retarded the arrival of the English and Dutch fleet before Toulon, had frustrated our attempt. But such are cabinets, parliaments, states-general, and coalitions! We ought, as I had proposed, to have marched straightway to Toulon, after the expulsion of the French from Lombardy. Nevertheless, but for the bravery and talents of Tessé, and the unfortunate affair in which my beloved prince of Gotha fell, we should have been successful.

I left to the duke of Savoy the honour of proposing to raise the siege, and took good care not to oppose him. I fully expected, as it turned out, that the English would accuse him of a secret understanding with the French. They were angry at having been put to so much useless expense; they ought to be forgiven. I wrote to Marlborough that they were wrong, and that this time the duke of Savoy had by accident behaved most honourably towards us; but his conduct had not been exactly such towards the inhabitants of Provence, whom he had severely fleeced: he moreover caused their olive-trees to be cut down and pulled up by the roots, and took away plants and seeds to carry them to his own country. Detested as he was, he was often

annoyed on his retreat : mine was executed with less interruption. On the 25th of July, my army arrived at Frejus ; I prevented Medavi, who attempted to obstruct my march in the defiles and the passage of the Var, which I accomplished without molestation.

Vexed at having made a campaign without any success, I went and took Suza, the only place left to the French on this side of the mountains. I repaired to Turin to provide winter-quarters ; to Milan to fix the contributions of the Italian princes ; and to Vienna to settle the plan of operations of the ensuing campaign.

One ought not to appear dissatisfied at court : I hate grumblers, even though they have reason to grumble. From the closet ill-natured sarcasms find their way to the parlour, from the parlour to the dining-room, and thence, in consequence of the imprudent practice of speaking before servants, to the public-houses ; all this afterwards produces upon the common people an impression that is liable to become dangerous. Being sure that Joseph the First would be embarrassed on seeing me, because he had not believed me, I observed, as I ought, a respectful, but likewise easy behaviour, towards him. He was gratified by it, and scolded me for having exposed myself too much. It is easy to imagine what answer I made to this kind reproach. " You have expelled the French," said he, " from Bavaria and Italy ; go and drive them from the Low Countries. Rest yourself, and set off on the 26th of March for various courts, and set the coalition to work according to your wishes and mine."

1708.—On the 31st of March I was already at Dresden, and obtained a promise of king Augustus to send me a body of his troops. I then went to Hanover, and received the same promise from the elector. I proceeded to the Hague, where I cordially embraced Marlborough, who had come thither on the same business. We both pressed Heinsius and Fagel for assistance ; assuring them, that to prevent the enemy from laying siege to the strong places, we would gain a battle as speedily as possible. I appeased, as well as

I could, those gentlemen, who were dissatisfied, because the emperor had not made peace with the Hungarian rebels, nor appropriated to his own use the revenues of Naples, the Milanese, and Bavaria. I went next to Dusseldorf, to pacify the elector Palatine, who was likewise angry with the emperor Joseph the First respecting the Upper Palatinate. I returned to Hanover with Marlborough, to press the elector; went to Leipsic, to urge king Augustus, whom I found there, once more; and after proceeding to Vienna to give an account of my successful negotiations, I was immediately sent off again to Frankfurt, to confer with the electors of Mentz and Hanover, and Rechteren, the Dutch minister. I circulated a report that this journey was undertaken for the sake of my health, and that the physicians had ordered me to use the waters of Schlangenbad. I said to all these petty allies, "It is your interest; a great emperor would live at your expense, if you did not exist, and would perhaps be better off on that account. If you do not protect yourselves by defending him, beware lest another Louvois lay waste the empire with fire and sword."

I have always taken for the foundation of my politics the interests of the persons with whom I had to do, and have detested court-flatterers, who say, "These princes are personally attached to your majesty." It is thus that they strengthen the self-love of sovereigns, who, besides, like to be told "every thing is going on well, in the best manner, or is likely to be retrieved."

Villars was not duped by the prescriptions of the faculty, for the cure of diseases with which I was not afflicted. He wrote to a prisoner whom he sent back to me; "If you belong to the army which prince Eugene is going to command, assure him of my respect. I understand that he is going to the baths on the 20th of June: but if I recollect rightly, he was not formerly so attentive to his health. We shall soon see what sort of baths he means to use." I assembled my army of Austrian and German allies at Coblenz, where I had a long conference with the elector of Treves. The French



had one hundred thousand men in the Low Countries; Marlborough had but sixty thousand. I received orders to march to his support: I directed my troops to proceed by forced marches, while I went post myself, fearful lest a battle should be fought without me. Cadogan came to Maestricht to compliment me. He told me that the French had surprised Ghent, Bruges, and Plaskendall, and that my presence was wanted. I passed through Brussels, where my interview with my mother, after a separation of twenty-five years, was very tender, but very short. I found Marlborough encamped at Asch, between Brussels and Alost; and learning that the enemy had their left on the other side of the Dendre, I asked Marlborough, on my arrival, if it was not his intention to give battle. "I think I ought," replied he immediately; "and I find with pleasure, but without astonishment, that we have both made the reflection, that without this, our communication with Brussels would be cut off: but I should like to have waited for your troops." "I would not advise you to wait," replied I, "for the French would have time to retreat."

Vendôme wanted to dispute the passage of the Dendre. He told the duke of Burgundy, whom bad advisers persuaded to march to Ghent: "When you perceive in prince Eugene a desire to avoid an engagement, he knows how to force you to one." This expression I saw in the vindication of his conduct, which he printed on his return to Paris.

Cadogan went to Oudenarde, and in a few hours threw a bridge across the Scheldt. "It is still time," said Vendôme to the duke of Burgundy, "to discontinue your march, and to attack, with the troops which we have here, that part of the allied army which has passed the river." The duke hesitated, stopped on the height of Gaveren, lost time, would have turned back, sent twenty squadrons to dispute the passage, recalled them, and said, "Let us march to Ghent." "It is too late," said Vendôme, "you cannot now: in half an hour, perhaps, you will have the enemy upon you"

"Why then did you stop me?" rejoined the duke of Burgundy. "To begin the attack immediately," replied he. "Cadogan yonder is already master of the village of Hurne and of six battalions. Let us draw up at least in the best manner we can." Rantzau commenced the attack. He overthrew a column of cavalry, and would have been routed in his turn, but for the electoral prince of Hanover, who, in the conflict, had his horse killed under him. Grimaldi too early and injudiciously ordered a charge. "What are you doing?" cried Vendôme, coming up at full gallop, "you are wrong."—"It is by the duke of Burgundy's orders," replied he. The latter, vexed at being contradicted, thought only how to cross the other. Vendôme was giving orders to charge the left. "What are you doing?" said the duke of Burgundy: "I forbid it; there is an impassable ravine and morass." Let any one judge of the indignation of Vendôme, who had passed over the spot but a moment before. But for this misunderstanding, we should perhaps have been defeated; for our cavalry was engaged a full half hour before the infantry could join it. For the same reason, I directed the village of Hurne to be abandoned, that I might send the battalions by which it was occupied to support the squadrons on the left wing. But the duke of Argyle arrived with all possible expedition, at the head of the English infantry; and then came the Dutch, though much more slowly. "Now," said I to Marlborough, "we are in a condition to fight." It was six in the evening of the 11th of July: we had yet three hours of daylight. I was on the right, at the head of the Prussians. Some battalions turned their backs, on being attacked with unequalled fury. They rallied, retrieved their fault, and we recovered the ground they had lost. The battle then became general along the whole line. The spectacle was magnificent. It was one sheet of fire. Our artillery made a powerful impression; that of the French being injudiciously posted, in consequence of the uncertainty which prevailed in the army on account of the disunion of its commanders, produced very

little effect. With us it was quite the contrary; we loved and esteemed one another. Even the Dutch marshal, Ouverkerke, venerable for his age and services, my old friend and Marlborough's, obeyed us, and fought to admiration.

The following circumstance may serve to prove our harmony. Matters were going ill on the right, where I commanded. Marlborough, who perceived it, sent me a reinforcement of eighteen battalions, without which I should scarcely have been able to keep my ground. I then advanced, and drove in the first line; but at the head of the second I found Vendôme on foot, with a pike in his hand, encouraging the troops. He made so vigorous a resistance, that I should not have succeeded but for Natzmer, at the head of the king of Prussia's gendarmes, who broke through the line, and enabled me to obtain a complete victory.

Marlborough purchased his more dearly on the left, where he attacked in front, while Ouverkerke dislodged the enemy from the hedges and villages; Nassau, Fries, and Oxenstiern drove the infantry beyond the defiles, but they were roughly handled by the king's household troops, who came to its assistance. I rendered the same service to the duke. I sent Tilly, who, making a considerable circuit, took the brave household troops, which had nearly snatched the victory from us, in the rear: but this decided the business. The darkness of the night prevented our pursuit, and enabled me to execute a scheme for increasing the number of our prisoners. I sent out drummers in different directions, with orders to beat the retreat after the French manner, and posted my French refugee officers, with direction to shout on all sides:—Here Picardy! Here Champagne! Here Piedmont! The French soldiers flocked in, and I made a good harvest of them: we took in all about seven thousand. The duke of Burgundy, and his evil counsellors, had long before withdrawn. Vendôme collected the relics of the army, and took charge of the rear.

As it was so dark that we had begun to fire upon each other, Marlborough waited for daylight, to attack

the enemy before he reached Ghent. His detachment found him but too soon. Vendôme had posted his grenadiers to the right and left of the high road, and they put our cavalry, which pursued them, to the rout. Vendôme by this saved the remnant of his army, which entered Ghent in the utmost confusion, with the dukes of Burgundy and Berry, and the count of Toulouse. His presence stopped, pacified, and cheered the soldiers.

They all held a council of war at the inn called the Golden Apple. The opinion of the princes and their courtiers was, as usual, detestable. Vendôme grew warm, expressed his indignation at having been crossed by them, and declared that, determined not to be served in the same manner again, he should order the army to encamp behind the canal of Bruges at Lovendeghem. I pitied him from the bottom of my heart, as I had done the elector of Bavaria, in 1704, and the duke of Orleans, in 1706.

As I was sure that Marlborough could make no arrangements but what were excellent, I went the day after the battle to see my mother at Brussels. What tears of affection did she shed on beholding me again with some addition of glory! I told her, however, that Marlborough's portion seemed greater than mine, as at Höchstett. The joy of revenge mingled a little in that occasioned by our victory. She was glad to see the king humbled, who had left her for another woman in his youth, and exiled her in his old age. It is remarkable that in hers she married the duke D'Ursel, without assuming his name. Nobody knew this: it could not have been a match of conscience or convenience, but probably of ennui and idleness. We could not help being rather merry on the subject of his former devices and his Place des Victoires.

The fifteen days which I thus passed with her were the most agreeable of my life. I parted from her with the more pain, as it was probable that we should not see each other again. On the last day of my visit the troops from the Moselle arrived. We were then as strong as the French. I sent eight battalions to rein-

force Marlborough's corps, which covered Flanders. I left the rest to cover Brussels, and rejoined him at the camp of Elchin. He, Ouverkerke, and myself agreed upon sending a strong detachment to lay waste Artois and Picardy, and thus compel Vendôme to leave his camp. Vendôme, who guessed our intention, remained immovable. I proposed the siege of Lisle: the deputies of the states-general thought fit to be of a different opinion: Marlborough was with me, and they were obliged to hold their tongues. The siege was committed to me, while Marlborough was to cover it against the army of the duke of Burgundy. The latter, with sixty thousand men, encamped near Pont des Pierres; and I, with forty thousand, after investing the city, took up my head-quarters at the abbey of Loos, on the 13th of August. The brave and skilful Boufflers, with a garrison of sixteen battalions, and four regiments of dragoons, cut out plenty of work for me. The job, so far from being easy, was a dangerous one; for Mons was not in our possession. My first attack on Fort Catelen was repulsed; the works undertaken the same day, to drain a large pond which was in my way, also failed. I ordered epaulements to be made, for the fire of the place annoyed us to such a degree, that a cannon-ball carried off the head of the valet of the prince of Orange, at the moment when he was putting on his master's shirt. It may easily be supposed that he was obliged to take another, and to shift his quarters. I opened the trenches, and on the 23d the besieged made a sortie, when lieutenant-general Betendorff, who commanded there, was taken prisoner, Boufflers treated him exceedingly well. The festival of St Louis, which he celebrated with three general discharges of all his artillery, cost us some men. In the night, between the 26th and 27th, the besieged made a terrible sortie; I gained the post of the mill of St Andrew; Boufflers retook it; and I there lost six hundred men.

Marlborough sent me word that Berwick, having reinforced the duke of Burgundy, the army, now one hundred and twenty thousand strong, was marching to

the relief of Lisle. The deputies of the states-general always interfering in every thing, and always dying of fear, asked me for a reinforcement for him. I went to his camp to offer him one : he said, " Let us go together and reconnoitre the ground between the Deule and the Marck." After we had examined it, he said, " I have no occasion for one, I shall only move my camp nearer to yours." Vendôme proposed not to lose a day, but instantly to attack the army of observation, and the besieging force. " I cannot," said the duke of Burgundy ; " I have sent a courier to my grandfather to inquire his pleasure." Conferences were held at Versailles, and the king sent his booby Chamillard to his grandson's camp ; he went up with him into the steeple of the village of Sedin, to view our two armies, and decided against giving us battle.

I cannot imagine how Vendôme could help running mad ; another, with less zeal, would have sent every thing to the devil ; and he, a better grandson of a king of France than the other, took the trouble, the day before, to go so close to Marlborough's position to reconnoitre, that he was grazed by a cannon-ball. I had returned to Marlborough's camp to be his volunteer, if he had been attacked.

But, while I think of it, a Chamillard, that is, in one word, a young prince of no character, and an old king who had lost his, were quite sufficient to fill Vendôme's heart with rage. He was obliged by them to retreat, as if he had been beaten. I continued the siege, sure of not being interrupted, and took the redoubt of the gate of Flanders, and some others ; but after three hours' fighting for one of the most important, I was repulsed and pursued to my trenches. I scarcely stirred from them, having the king of Poland and all my young princes at my side, for it was necessary to set an example and to give orders. I directed two assaults to be made, to facilitate the taking of the covered way ; still repulsed, but a horrible carnage. Five thousand English, sent me by Marlborough to retrieve my losses, performed wonders, but were thrown into disorder. We heard the

ry of Vive le Roi et Boufflers! I said a few words in English to those brave fellows who rallied round me; I led them back into the fire; but a ball below the left eye knocked me down senseless. Every body thought me dead, and so did I too. They found a dung-cart, in which I was conveyed to my quarters; first my life, and then my sight was despaired of. I recovered both. The ball had struck me obliquely. Here was another unsuccessful attack; out of five thousand men, not fifteen hundred returned; and twelve hundred workmen were there killed.

Being prevented for some time by my wound from interfering in any thing, I left the command of the siege to Marlborough, who delivered his to Ouverkerke. He effected a lodgment in a tenailion on the left, but a mine baffled the assault and the assailants. Marlborough countermined some, and took all possible pains to spare me trouble on my return. He obliged me to dine in public, in order to cheer my army, and returned to his own.

The chevalier de Luxembourg eluded me, and introduced ammunition, of which the besieged were in great want; and a captain, named Dubois, eluded me, and swam with a note from Boufflers to the duke of Burgundy, informing him, that though the trenches had been open forty days, I was not yet completely master of any of the works. "Nevertheless, mon-seigneur," added he, "I cannot hold out beyond the 15th or 20th of October."

I was in want of powder. A single letter from Marlborough to his friend queen Anne occasioned a quantity to be sent me, with fourteen battalions, by the fleet of vice-admiral Byng, who landed them at Ostend. Every body is acquainted with the stupidity of Lamotte, who not only suffered this convoy to reach me, but got a sound drubbing for his whole corps that was intended to prevent it. Being completely recovered from my wound, I was night and day at the works, which Boufflers, also present every where, was incessantly interrupting or annoying.

I bethought me of a stratagem to give frequent alarms for several nights at a half-moon, with a view to attack it afterwards in open day, being persuaded that the wearied soldiers would take that time for repose. This scheme succeeded. I ordered an assault upon a salient angle, and that succeeded. I directed the covered way to be attacked, and was again successful. I thence made a breach in the curtain, and enlarged another in a bastion ; and when I was at length working at the descent of the ditch, the marshal, who had every day invented some new artifice ; sometimes tin boxes, at others, earthen pots, filled with grenades, and done all that science could suggest, offered to capitulate on the 22d of September, without mentioning any conditions. I promised to sign such as he should propose to me. " This, M. le Marechal," so I wrote to him, " is to show you my perfect regard for your person, and I am sure that a brave man like you will not abuse it. I congratulate you on your excellent defence."

My council of war, which I summoned out of politeness, objected to the article that the citadel should not be attacked on the side next the town. I yielded, having my plan in my head, and wrote to Boufflers : " Certain reasons, M. le Marechal, prevent me from signing this article, but I give you my word of honour to observe it. I hope in six week to give you fresh proofs of my adimation." Boufflers retired into the citadel, and I entered the town with Marlborough, the king of Poland, the landgrave of Hesse, &c. In the morning we went to church, and at night to the play ; and all the business of the capitulation being finished on the 29th of October, I the same day ordered the trenches to be opened before the citadel.

Before I proceed to this siege, I ought to relate a circumstance which happened to me during that of the city. A clerk of the post-office wrote to the secretary of general Dopf, desiring him to deliver to me two letters, one from the Hague, and the other I know not whence. I opened the latter, and found nothing but



a greasy paper. Persuaded, as I still am, that it was mistake, or something of no consequence, which I might perhaps have been able to read had I taken the trouble to hold the paper to the fire, I threw it away. Somebody picked it up, and it was said that a dog, about whose neck it was tied, died poisoned in the space of twenty-four hours. What makes me think this untrue, is, that at Versailles they were too generous, and at Vienna too religious, for such a trick.

The ninth day the besieged made a vigorous sortie. The prince of Brunswick, who repulsed it, received a wound from a musket-ball in the head. The eleventh, a still more vigorous sortie of the chevalier de Luxembourg; who drove my troops from the branches of the trenches, and made us fall back to St Catherine's. An excellent officer of my staff, by my side, had his head shot off by a cannon-ball. The enemy lost a great number of men before he returned to the citadel. I caused every thing to be repaired.

I was now suddenly obliged to abandon the siege, leaving the direction of it to prince Alexander of Wurtemberg. The elector of Bavaria was engaged in that of Brussels. Marlborough and I made him raise it after a pretty battle, and some excellent, well-combined manœuvres, of which he had all the honour, for I could not pass the Scheldt where I wanted. The elector of Bavaria was somewhat ashamed. The French princes would have been so too, had not their joy on returning to Versailles prevented them.

I went back to the siege; but what a change! The marshal had taken advantage of my absence to drive the besiegers from the first covered way, of which I had left them in possession. After regaining it, as well as the other posts that had been abandoned, I wrote as follows to the brave Boufflers: "The French army, M. le Marechal, has retired toward Tournay, the elector of Bavaria to Namur, and the princes to their courts. Spare yourself and your brave garrison; I will again sign whatever you please." His answer was: "There is yet no occasion to be in a hurry.

Permit me to defend myself as long as I can. I have still enough left to do to render myself more worthy of the esteem of the man whom I respect above all others." I gave orders for the assault of the second covered way. The king of France apparently anticipated this, for he wrote to the marshal to surrender. Notwithstanding his repugnance to such a step, he was on the point of obeying, when, in a note which the duke of Burgundy had subjoined to the king's letter, he read: "I know from a certain quarter that they want to make you a prisoner of war." I know not where he picked up this information; but that prince, respectable as he was in peace, could neither say nor do any but foolish things in war. This note however, produced some impression for a moment. Generals, soldiers, and all, swore rather to perish in the breach. Boufflers wept for joy, as I have been told; and when on the point of embracing this alternative, he recollected my note, which got the better of the duke of Burgundy's; and after the trenches had been opened four months before the city and citadel, he sent me on the 8th of December all the articles that he wished me to sign, which I did without any restriction. I went very soon with the prince of Orange to pay him a visit, and in truth to do homage to his merit. I cordially embraced him, and accepted an invitation to supper; "On condition," said I, "that it be that of a famished citadel, to see what you may eat without an express order from the king." Roasted horse-flesh was set before us; the epicures in my suite were far from relishing the joke, but were quickly consoled by the arrival of provisions from the city, on which we made an excellent repast.

The following day I gave him as good a dinner as I could, at my abbey, where he paid me a visit. We were very merry and communicative. We talked of war, politics, and Louis the Fourteenth. Respecting the last, I was on my guard; I spoke only of his great qualities, and requested the marshal to lay me at his feet. On this subject I was highly amused with the

Gatheries of the states-general, who thinking themselves very cunning, were in hopes by these means to dispose him to peace, of which they were ardently desirous. I durst not be alone a moment with the marshal, lest idle stories should be circulated respecting us; and one or the other might appear suspicious to our courts, where one is always sure to have good friends, who are never asleep. After manifesting my consideration for the illustrious vanquished, whenever we were together, at the play, and when we went abroad in the streets, where I observed that he was universally adored, I caused him and his brave garrison to be conducted to Douay, with a large escort and all possible honours.

In one of our conversations I said to him; "If you could have been both within the place and without at the same time, M. le Marechal, and if no other princes of France had been there but M. de Vendôme, to whom I give that title out of love to Henry the Fourth, I should never have taken Lisle."

"Do you believe in good luck in war?" said he; "I see nothing in you but good management."—"If I have occasionally shown some," replied I, "it is because I have been fortunate enough to be opposed by bad generals; and that is good luck."—"In my opinion," said the marshal, "bad luck consists only in the want of opportunity to distinguish one's self: but a beaten general is always in the wrong, without some extraordinary accident, such as an order misunderstood, or the death of the messenger: he may then have some excuse, but there is none for the general who is surprised and defeated. The ignorant alone make war a game of chance, and they are caught at last. Charles the Twelfth is not one of these; but I see by the news which I have this morning received, that while we are speaking, he is playing very deep." (14.)

After retaking Ghent and Bruges, Marlborough and I put our troops in winter-quarters, and went for a month to Brussels; but my mother was no longer there.

1705 --January the 9th, we set out for the Hague.

It was nothing but a series of honours and festivities, presents for Marlborough, and fire-works for me. But I prevented a magnificent exhibition, by requesting the states-general to give the money it was to have cost, to their brave soldiers, whom I had caused to be crippled; and the 20th of January I set off for Vienna, to report and ask for farther orders.

I was directed to make peace, if the enemy would comply with all my demands. I returned on the 8th of April to the Hague, where I found the plenipotentiaries of the king of France. Famine, a winter more severe than had ever been known, want of men and money, made him wish for peace; but the vanquished forget that they are such, as soon as they enter into negotiation. They mistake obstinacy for firmness, and at last get more soundly beaten than before.

One hundred thousand men were again under Marlborough's command and mine in the Low Countries; and the same number under Villars. "I am going," said he to the king on taking leave, "to drive your enemies so far, that they shall not again see the banks of the Scheldt; and by a battle on my arrival, to regain all that has been taken from your majesty."

Without wishing to avoid one, for he was morally and physically brave, he took an extremely advantageous position: this was one of his great talents; he wanted very little to be a perfect general. With reinforcements, which poured into us on all sides, we were stronger than he, but there was no possibility of attacking him where he was. To oblige him to quit his position, we resolved to besiege Tournay. The trenches were opened on the 7th of July, the white flag was hoisted on the 28th, and on the 21st of August, after the most terrible subterraneous war that I ever witnessed, (for in twenty-six days the besieged sprung thirty-eight mines,) the citadel surrendered. Villars never stirred. "Let us go and take Mons," said I to Marlborough; "perhaps this devil of a fellow will tire of being so prudent." Madame de Maintenon did not give him credit for so much prudence as he

possessed, though she was very fond of him ; for she permitted Louis the Fourteenth to send marshal Boufflers to assist him. Certain enemies of Villars, at Versailles, hoped to disgust him ; but I have already proved, that brave men agree, and love and esteem each other. The two marshals would gladly have saved Mons without risking a battle ; we stood upon ceremony to know which party should oblige the other to give it. As soon as our troops from Tournay had arrived : " Let us lose no time," said I ; " and in spite of one hundred and twenty thousand men, woods, hedges, villages, holes, triple entrenchments, a hundred pieces of cannon and abattis, let us put an end to the war in one day."

The deputies of Holland, and some faint-hearted generals, objected, remonstrated, and annoyed me. It was of no use to tell them that the excellent veteran French soldiers were killed in the six or seven battles which Marlborough and I had gained ; and though I well knew that young ones are formed but too expeditiously, an advantage in which they are superior to all other nations, we determined upon the battle of Malplaquet. The 11th of September a thick fog concealed our dispositions from the marshals ; we dispelled it at eight in the morning, by a general discharge of all our artillery. This military music was succeeded by that of hautboys, drums, fifes, and trumpets, with which I treated both armies. We then saw Villars proceeding through all the ranks. As the French can never hear enough of their king ; " My friends," said he to them, as I have been told, " the king commands me to fight : are you not very glad of it ? " He was answered with shouts of—Long live the king and M. de Villars ! I attacked the wood of Sars without shouting. I rallied the English guards, who, at the beginning, were scattered ; some from too much courage, and others from a contrary reason : my German battalions supported them. We had nevertheless been overwhelmed, but for the duke of Argyle, who boldly climbing the parapet of the entrenchment, made me master of the wood.

All this procured me a ball behind the ear ; and on account of the quantity of blood which I lost, all those about me advised me to have the wound dressed. " If I am beaten," I replied, " it will not be worth while ; and if the French are, I shall have plenty of time for that." What could I have done better than to seek death, after all the responsibility which I had again taken upon myself on this occasion ? I beg pardon for this digression and personality ; but one cannot help being a man. To endeavour to repair faults committed, is, I acknowledge, more noble ; but to survive one's glory is dreadful. My business on the right going on well, I wished to decide that of the duke on the left, which proceeded but slowly. In vain the prince of Orange had planted a standard on the third entrenchment ; almost the whole Dutch corps was extended on the ground, killed or wounded. For six hours Marlborough was engaged with the centre and the left, without any decisive advantage. My cavalry, which I sent to his succour, was overthrown on the way by the king's household troops, as they were in their turn by a battery which took them in flank. At length Marlborough had gained ground without me ; so that it was easy for me to turn the centre of the enemy's army, which had been left unsupported in consequence of the defeat of the wings.—Boufflers rendered the same service to Villars as I did to Marlborough, and when he beheld him fall from his horse, dangerously wounded below the knee, and the victory snatched from them, he thought of nothing but how to make the finest retreat in the best possible order. I think it is not too much to estimate the loss of both armies at forty thousand men : those who were not killed died of fatigue. I gave some rest to the remains of my troops, buried all I could, and then marched to Mous.

There were but five thousand men in that place. I opened the trenches on the 25th of September, and on the 22d of October, being on the point of assaulting the horn-work of Bertamont, Grimaldi capitulated. Our troops went into winter-quarters ; and I, being

obliged to post about without intermission, proceeded with Marlborough to the Hague, to coax the states-general, who were ready to abandon our cause. I advised them to say at the conference of Gertruidenberg, that they would not hear of peace unless it were general. 'Tis a good way to protract a war; for out of four or five powers, you may wager that there is one whose interest it is not to make peace. I was sure of queen Anne, because I was sure of Marlborough; he seconded me admirably. I went to report to the emperor. I submitted to him a sketch of the state of Europe, of which I could see that his cabinet had not the least idea. I stated the inclination which I observed in several powers to forsake us. At a distance from danger, people are courageous. I was told that I should make a glorious campaign. I replied, that I had lost more men than could be given me; but yet I would try what I could do.

I collected three hundred thousand florins for my army, which had for a long time been unpaid, and as many recruits as I could, to reinforce Heister against the Hungarian rebels, whom they had neither the abilities to beat, nor the good sense to pacify. I soon returned to the Low Countries, by way of Berlin, where I alighted the 1st of April.

1710.—At the house of my good friend, the prince of Anhalt Dessau. It was necessary to prevent the king of Prussia, who imagined that the Swedish monarch would cut out work for him, from withdrawing his troops from Italy, where the duke of Savoy, meditating an invasion of Dauphiné, stood in need of them.

Frederic William promised me that they should remain. I demonstrated to him that since the battle of Pultawa there was no Charles the Twelfth, and that he was the prisoner of his friends the Turks.

I was sorry for it; for he never could have been a Gustavus Adolphus, who made the empire tremble; but I wished the aggrandizement of Russia to be prevented, and looked upon Sweden as a counterpoise for maintaining the equilibrium of Europe. The king of Prussia

gave me a fine sword, and a snuff-box worth twenty-four thousand florins, which was a great deal for a prince both poor and avaricious. I proceeded on the 15th of April to join Marlborough at the Hague; and on arriving in Flanders, we found the French lines, from Maubeuge to Ypres, carried by Cumberland. We went to lay siege to Douai.

My equipages, coming from Holland by water, were taken by a French partisan near Antwerp: plate, boxes, and the presents which I had just received. Louis the Fourteenth, probably from the impression made upon him by the respectful message which I had sent by the Marshal de Boufflers, ordered the whole to be restored to me. I gave five hundred ducats and a gold-hilted sword to the partisan. I caused the trenches to be opened in the night between the 5th and 6th of May. Albergotti made a vigorous sally on the 8th, which gave me a good deal of trouble. No governor ever made so many sorties: he sometimes made four in a day.

Villars, having recovered from his wound, arrived from Paris to oblige us to raise the siege. We took a good position, and though it was not so strong as that which he had occupied at Malplaquet, the preceding year, yet he respected it. The many battles and towns lost by the French since the commencement of the century, had rendered them cautious, and Villars too; which is saying a great deal. On the 24th of June, Douai surrendered.

It came to my turn to be cautious likewise. I designed to take Arras, and then there would have been nothing to prevent my marching to Paris; but Villars frustrated my plan, by taking an excellent position, where I durst not attack him. I consoled myself by the reduction of Bethune, which was the business of eight days. On the 14th of August we gained a tolerable advantage. Villars, always courageous in his own person, when he could not be so with his army, gave Broglio five hundred horse to cut off a large foraging party, and marched himself at the head of fifty squadrons to support him. Broglio, eager for the attack, fell



into an ambuscade, and Villars returned extremely mortified.

Marlborough had a strong desire to attack him. said to him, "I will wager that it is not to be done : but let us reconnoitre him."—"Well then," said he, finding this to be the case, "let us go on taking towns." On the 16th we opened the trenches before St Venant, and on the 28th it capitulated.

The siege of Aix did not proceed so rapidly ; it was not till the beginning of November, that, after great efforts of valour on both sides, the besiegers carried the covered way. The brave Goebriant nevertheless defended himself till the 8th. We went into winter-quarters. The Hague being the head of the coalition, which I saw every moment ready to tumble to pieces, I went thither again with Marlborough, and returned to Vienna on the 26th of January.

1711.—I there found the emperor and his ministers still undecided between their private haughtiness and the public interest. "A halter or a ribbon, in one word," said I, "for Ragotzi and Caroli. Put an end to this tedious rebellion ; (15) you may do it cheaply, for the Turks are going to march in behalf of Charles the Twelfth ; and unless Peter the First commit some egregious folly, he will find them employment for a long time.

They sent to me—I may say to me, because they have a notion that the president of war is the grand vizir—a minister named Zephala Aga, to assure the emperor that they had no quarrel with him ; but that it was the Russians on whom his highness, as he said, was going to take vengeance, for reasons known to the whole world. These were his own words.

Joseph the First was attacked with the small-pox. There were no good physicians at Vienna. They sent to Lintz for one. It came out in such abundance, that I thought him out of danger. Before my departure for the Low Countries, I would have taken leave of him. he sent me word that I had but too much exposed my life for him already, and that he wanted it elsewhere than for the small-pox. I insisted no farther, and set

off on the 16th of April. Three days afterwards I was informed of his death, occasioned by the ignorance of the faculty of Upper and Lower Austria, who disputed all night about the means of relieving an inflammation of the bowels, with which the emperor was afflicted. I sincerely regretted this prince, aged thirty-three: the first, since Charles the Fifth, who possessed genius, and was not superstitious; and I determined to serve him even after his death. I hurried to almost all the electors to dispose them to ensure the imperial crown to his brother, and then went to solicit the Dutch to continue their credit in money and friendship to Charles the Third, King of Spain, who became by the title of Emperor, Charles the Sixth.

The protestants did not fail to give out that the Court of Rome, which had suffered some humiliations from Joseph the First, had bribed his physicians; but no credit should be attached to defamatory libels, to private anecdotes, as they are called, and to malicious doubts. It has long been the fashion to assert that great personages die of poison. (16.)

Tallard, more dangerous in peace than in war, whom I would not have left prisoner in England could I have suspected that he would there acquire any influence, enabled the tories to triumph, and crush the whigs. His assiduous attention to Mrs Masham, the queen's new favourite, instead of the duchess of Marlborough, his insinuating manners, and his presents of Burgundy and Champagne to right honourable members of parliament, who were amateurs of those wines, changed the aspect of European affairs, not to mention a M. Menager, who was sent to that country by Louis the Fourteenth. The consequences will be seen presently.

Marlborough was playing his last game in the Low Countries. He found means to finish his military career there with glory; he forced the French lines behind the Senzéc, and took the city of Bouchain.

On the disgrace of the duchess, a thousand faults were discovered in him. His pride was denominated insolence, and his rather too great economy was called

peculation and extortion. His friends, as may be supposed, behaved like friends; and that is saying sufficient. He was recalled: to me this was a thunderbolt. The French assembled on the Rhine: I sent Kehlen with a strong detachment from the Low Countries, and, leaving the Hague on the 19th of July, I collected, as expeditiously as possible, all the troops I could at Frankfurt, and took so good a position in a camp near Mühlberg, as to cause to be held and to cover the election to the imperial crown, which would have been lost had I received a check. The French durst not disturb it; this was for me a campaign of prudence rather than of glory.

Queen Anne threw off all restraint. She had given an unfavourable reception to the Dutch ambassador, and had forbidden Gallas, the imperial minister, her court; assigning as a reason certain expressions which he was said to have used respecting her. Charles the Sixth ordered me to repair the blunders of Gallas, if he had committed any, and to regain the court of St. James's.

Had I acted as my good cousin Victor Amadæus would have done in my place, I should have cried out against Marlborough still more loudly than his enemies, and have refused to see him. But from policy itself, persons of narrow minds ought to counterfeit feeling. Their designs are too easily seen through. They are despised, and miss their object. Gratitude, esteem, the partnership in so many military operations, and pity for a person in disgrace, caused me to throw myself with emotion into Marlborough's arms. Besides, on such occasions, the heart proves victorious. The people, who followed me every where from the moment I set foot in London, perceived it, and liked me the better for this: while the opposition, and the honest part of the court, esteemed me the more. In one way or other, all was over for Austria. I coaxed the people in power a good deal. I made presents; there is scarcely any thing but what may be bought in England. I offered to procure the recall of Gallas.

I delivered a memorial on this subject, and requested the queen to take other bases at the congress of Utrecht, where her plenipotentiaries already were, that the emperor might be enabled to send his thither. I received so vague a reply, that had the court of Vienna believed me, they would not have reckoned at all upon the feeble succour of the duke of Ormond, who set out to command the English, as successor to the duke of Marlborough, and I should not have lost the battle of Denain. This happened in the following manner:—Notwithstanding my distinguished reception from the queen, who, at my departure, presented me with her portrait, I went and told the states-general that we had now nobody on whom we could rely but themselves; and passing through Utrecht to make my observations, I found the tone of the French so altered, so elevated, that I was more certain than ever of the truth of what I had announced. On my arrival at the abbey of Anchin, where I assembled my army, amounting to upwards of one hundred thousand men, Ormond came and made me the fairest promises, and had the goodness to consent to my passing the Scheldt below Bouchain. But after feigning to agree to the siege of Quesnoi, he first strove to dissuade me from that step, and then, without reserve, refused to concur in it. I said to him, “Well, sir, I will do without your eighteen thousand men.” “I shall lead them,” said he, “to take possession of Dunkirk, which the French are to deliver to me.” “I congratulate the two nations,” replied I, “on this operation, which will do equal honour to both. Adieu, sir.” He ordered all the troops in the pay of England to follow him. Very few obeyed. I had foreseen the blow, and had made sure of the prince of Anhalt, and the prince of Hesse Cassel.

July the 30th, I took Quesnoi. I gave the direction of the siege of Landrecy to the prince of Anhalt, and entered the lines which I had directed to be formed between Marchiennes and Denain. The Dutch had collected large stores of ammunition and provisions at Marchiennes. In vain I represented to them that they

would be better at Quesnoi, only three leagues from Landrecy, and but ten from us; the economy of these gentlemen opposed the change. This made me say peevishly, and as I have been told, with an oath, one day when Alexander's conquests were the subject of conversation: "He had no Dutch deputies with his army." I ordered twenty of their battalions, and ten squadrons under the command of the earl of Albemarle, to enter the lines, and approached Quesnoi, with the main body of my army, to watch the motions of Villars. During all these shuffling tricks, of which I foresaw that I should be the dupe, and which Louis the Fourteenth knew nothing of, I made him tremble upon his throne. At a very small distance from Versailles, one of my partisans carried off Berenghen, under the idea that it was the dauphin: others pillaged Champagne and Lorraine. Growenstein, with two thousand horse, levied contributions all over the country, spreading dismay, and declaring that I was at his heels with my army. It was then that he is reported to have said, "If Landrecy be taken, I will put myself at the head of my nobility, and perish rather than see my kingdom lost." Would he have done so? I cannot tell. He wanted once to leave the trenches, but was dissuaded. Henry the Fourth, when formerly the contrary advice was given him, made the sign of the cross, and remained where he was.

Villars, thinking himself not strong enough to attack me, as I had hoped he would, attempted the deliverance of Denain in another way. I have mentioned my vexation respecting the magazines at Marchiennes, upon which depended the continuation of the siege. Two leagues of ground were too much for the Dutch corps. But for the defection of the English, they might have been defended. The following circumstance demonstrated the talents of Villars, and a kind of fault with which I had to reproach myself: to conceal a movement made on his left towards the Scheldt, with the greatest possible secrecy and celerity, he with his right drew my attention to Landrecy, as if he designed to

attack the lines of countervallation. All at once he drew back his right towards his left, which, during the night, had easily thrown bridges across the Scheldt, which is not wide at this place. These two wings united, advanced unknown to the earl of Albemarle, who attempted with his cavalry, but in vain, to fight what had passed. He relied upon me, but I reckoned upon him. On the first firing of his artillery, I marched to his succour, with a strong detachment of dragoons, at full trot, intending to make them dismount, if necessary, and followed by my infantry, which came up at a quick pace. The cowardice of the Dutch rendered my efforts unavailing. Had they but maintained themselves half an hour in the post of Denain, I had been in time. So I had calculated, in case of the worst, though I was deceived by the manœuvre of Villars.

I found only eight hundred men, and three or four generals drowned in the Scheldt ; and all those who had been surprised in their entrenchments, killed without making any defence. Albemarle, and all the princes and generals in the Dutch service, were taken prisoners, while endeavouring to rally their troops. The conduct of the former was represented in very black colours to the states-general. I wrote to Heinsius, the pensionary : " It would be my province, sir, to throw the faults or the disasters of that day on the earl of Albemarle, if I had a single reproach to make him. He behaved like a man of honour ; but I defy the ablest general to extricate himself when his troops, after a vile discharge, ignominiously run away. Your obstinacy in leaving your magazines at Marchiennes is the cause of all this. Assure their high mightinesses of the truth of what I write you, of my dissatisfaction, and profound mortification." (17.)

I was obliged to raise the siege of Landrecy, and to approach Mons, for the purpose of subsisting my army ; so that I could not prevent Villars from retaking Douay, Quesnoi, and Bouchain.

I often examine myself with the utmost possible strictness. It appears to me, that if I had placed

twenty battalions more in the lines, which would have been necessary to defend them, Villars, who was stronger than I, would then have beaten me. Out of the lines, posted as I was, I provided for every contingency. Could I expect that an hour at the utmost, more or less, would be decisive of my glory, of the war, and of the salvation of France? The artillery of the lines, which were thickly planted with it, ought alone to have given me time to come up. Instead of being well served, it was abandoned in as cowardly a manner as the entrenchments. The two faults which I committed were, not disregarding the remonstrances of the deputies respecting Marchiennes, and confiding a post of such importance to their troops, the flower of which had perished at Malplaquet.

Unfortunate in Hainault, I prepared all things for being successful in Flanders, at the beginning of the next campaign, and concluded this by sending a detachment to surprise Fort Kenoque. What a paltry compensation! but one must work sometimes for the newspapers.

It may easily be supposed, that I was the subject of criticism at Vienna, London, and the Hague, and of songs at Paris. Here is one which I thought pretty, because it gives my history in very few words :

Eugene, op'ning the campaign,  
Swore with air most furious,  
He'd march straightway to Champagne,  
To swig our wines so curious.  
The Dutchman for this journey gay,  
His cheese to Marchiennes sent away ;  
But Villars, fir'd with glory, cried,  
"Faith, where you are you'd better 'bide  
Scheldt's muddy water is, I think,  
Quite good enough for you to drink."

I went to Utrecht to see how the negotiations proceeded. England, Savoy, Portugal, and Prussia, were ready to sign their treaties ; and Holland hung only by a thread.

I set out for Vienna to report this to the emperor. On my arrival, Charles the Sixth said to me, " You are

right; Holland has just signed too. So Zinzendorf informs me; and he has sent me the proposals of France, to which you will certainly not advise me to agree." "Your majesty does me justice," I replied. "We will obtain neutrality for the Low Countries; and with the troops which you will order thence, as well as from Naples and Lombardy, we shall be able to keep the French in check on the Rhine."

I hastened to all the states and courts of the empire, to collect men and money. I procured three millions of crowns in one quarter, and a million of florins in another. But the tardiness of the princes and circles, in marching from their quarters, prevented me from anticipating the French on the Upper Rhine. Charles the Sixth manifested a desire to command his army in person. I represented to him that he could gain no honour by it. My opinion was but too well-founded. As I clearly perceived that Villars meant to make an attempt on Landau, I ordered lines to be formed at Etlingen, within which I sent one-half of my army, and posted the other at Mühlberg, where I hoped my reinforcements would arrive before the fall of Landau; but the prince of Würtemberg was obliged to capitulate.

Still I was in hopes of preventing the French from besieging Friburg. I took possession of all the defiles of the mountains. I threw up entrenchments, formed abattis, and erected redoubts at all the principal points. The inferiority of my force made me fear that the peace, which must necessarily be soon concluded, would be detestable: I called in all my troops, leaving only eighteen thousand with Vaubonne, to defend the passage of the mountains. Villars attacked the heights with his grenadiers. The troops of the circles, which I had placed behind the abattis, behaved like the Dutch at Denain, and ran away at the first fire. The duke of Bourbon and the prince of Conti began the attack of the defiles at seven in the evening. Vaubonne, hurried away, by the fugitives, could not rally them till they were at such a distance that he could not regain his entrenchments, and contented himself with throwing



twelve battalions into Friburg. After so many battles during a period of thirteen years, the emperor's troops themselves were but raw recruits. The best of my entrenchments at Hohlgraben being forced, there was nothing to check Villars in his march across the Black Forest, and he opened the trenches before Friburg on the 1st of October. Harsch disputed every inch of ground. In the night between the 14th and 15th, the covered way was taken by assault; and he there lost seventeen hundred men. When the inhabitants saw that Harsch was determined not to surrender till the assault of the body of the place, which was battered down with balls, the oldest priest carrying the host, the magistrates, women, and children, all thronged to him. The fire from the ramparts continued as before; and when the breach was wide enough to enter in companies, on the 1st of November he abandoned the town, and retired into the citadel. This was followed by defending, fighting, writing, demanding, refusing, granting, prolonging suspensions of hostilities till the 21st, and then by capitulation.

Farewell to the empire! farewell to its two bulwarks! was the general cry at all the courts of Germany, which were dying of fear. Why are they incorrigible? If little ministers, and great or little mistresses were not gained by France, they might raise one hundred thousand men to defend, in the first place, the passage of the Rhine; and then the fortresses erected and to be erected. There are very bad Germans in Germany.

The same courts and states of the empire having crossed me, as some years before they had done prince Louis of Baden, had rendered it impossible for me to relieve those two places. This, I confess, horribly disgusted me of the war, so that I was one of the first to advise the emperor to make peace. France had been making prodigious efforts: her resources are infinite. 'Tis the will of one individual and of one nation. The Austrian monarchy is composed of five or six, which have different constitutions. What a difference in civilization, population, and importance!

the title of emperor does not bring a single man or a single kreutzer. He must even negotiate with his empire that it may not be French ; with the Bohemians, that they may not run away into Prussia and Saxony for fear of becoming soldiers ; with his Lombards, who are ready to turn Savoyards ; with his Hungarians, ready to turn Turks ; and with his Flemings, ready to become Dutchmen.

La Houssaie was directed to sound, on the part of Louis the Fourteenth and Undheim, the minister of the elector palatine, on that of Charles the Sixth. The first appointed Villars to treat with me at Rastadt, to which place I was sent at the same time. Villars arrived there first, to do the honours of the place, as he told me, and came to the foot of the stairs to receive me. Never did men embrace with more military sincerity, and I may venture to add, with more esteem and attachment. Our juvenile friendship, when companions in arms in Hungary, and our intimacy at Vienna, while he was ambassador there, interrupted by military exploits on both sides, rendered this interview so affecting, that the officers and men composing our escorts also cordially embraced one another. A conversation of an hour, in my apartment, to which Villars conducted me, fixed the basis of the treaty. "I was in expectation," said I, laughing to Villars, "of exorbitant demands on your part, but I suppose they have not yet arrived, since in your heart you think mine reasonable. You will send a courier to notify my objections ; he will return to you with orders to agree to none of my propositions. Your second will bring you intelligence that they are beginning to listen to reason at Vienna, and we shall sign." All that I predicted partly came to pass ; and while he was waiting for the second courier, I said to him : "Allow me, my dear marshal, to go in the mean time to spend the carnival at Stuttgart, with the duke of Würtemberg. My body requires recreation ; but for these two years, owing to you, my mind has been in still greater need of it."—"With all my heart," said he, "and I will go and

amuse myself at Strasburg, till Contades, whom I will send off to the king, shall return with fresh instructions. Allow me also to give you a ball this evening, as though we were not going to fight perhaps for a fortnight to come. People will consider our sovereigns the best friends in the world, while it is only their ambassadors that are so, if you, Monseigneur, will permit me to assume an appellation so dear to my heart." In the time that we remained together, I gave him balls and suppers in my turn. His entertainment was better than mine, which was rather too much in the German style; I was quite out of my element. Whoever saw us together at night would not have supposed that we were quarrelling all day. At the entertainments which he gave me, his conversation seemed more amusing and more agreeable than ever. Nobody could be more so than he. He had far more interesting things to tell me than when we were acquainted. We were talking one day of the difference of our nations: "Yours," said Villars to me, "seems immovable, never doing glorious things but by halves, and never disgracing itself."—"And yours," replied I, "is never steady. It is in fact two; one susceptible of discipline, fatigue, and enthusiasm, when it is headed by a Villars, a Vendome, and a Catinat; and the other, that of Blenheim and Ramillies, when there was too much of Versailles in your affairs. The understanding and intelligence of your countrymen may sometimes be prejudicial, because they form an opinion on every subject, and that very quickly. For instance, if I had to do with some of you, I would equip some of my dragoons in the French uniform, and direct them to cry out on your rear: 'We are cut off!' But with such valour, and such a man as you, my dear marshal, they are very dangerous fellows."

"Indeed," said he, "we talk without being aware of it, like Hannibal and Scipio.—What think you of the Turks? Are they yet as stupid as in my time, when I began to admire you Monseigneur?"

"Nobody will ever change their system," answered

I, "but it might be turned to good account without that. If a pacha, a renegado, a general of the allies of the Porte, were to place platoons after their manner, as a second line in the intervals of the first, and others as a third in those of the second, and then again reserves, and their spahis on the wings, with their accursed shouts of 'Allah! Allah!' and their mode of advancing in fifties with a pair of colours, they would be invincible."

"You will be angry with me for what I am going to say," observed Villars. "Do you know the foolish story which has been told concerning you, to account for the loss of the battle of Denain?"

"Let me hear of it," said I, "it will amuse me."

"Well, it was said that you had a mistress at Mar-chiennes; that an Italian dancer, beautiful as an angel, had her quarters there; and that you had troops at that post, only for her safety and yours, during your nightly visits."

I laughed heartily with him at this story.

"Indeed," said I, "it was rather too late for me to catch the foolish fever called love. I had better have taken it at Venice or Vienna, when we were young. You paid attention to ladies, I remember; but it was without loving or being loved by them; for they take a French gallant for fashion's sake."

"That often happens to us in France too," replied he. "It is a fashion there likewise, nay even an employment, when we have nothing else to do: indeed, it is almost necessary to save our character. Consider what they have said of M. de Vendôme and of Catinat."

He passed some jokes on his friend Madame de Maintenon, and the steeple from which Chamillard had reconnoitred me, and highly amused me at the expense of the duke of Burgundy, the Villerois, the Tallards, the Marsins, and the La Feuillades. "I was delighted," said I, "to find that you were converting and cutting the throats of the Hugonots in the Cevennes, instead of being opposed to me at Hochstett." I had no difficulty to make him acknowledge that, but for

his wound, he would have beaten me at Malplaquet ; but it was much harder for him to prove, as he attempted to do, that I had not committed some slight error at Denain.

Perhaps these little flatteries produced some observations favourable to the emperor in his despatches to Louis the Fourteenth. I hinted in conversation, that I was not yet acquainted with this emperor, and that he seemed to me to be extremely obstinate. With pleasure I observed Villars talking with some members of the states of the empire, supposing that he would learn that I had obtained from them five millions to begin the war again, if it should be absolutely necessary ; and we parted.

1714.—Contades went like the wind, and returned in the same manner on the 26th of February. The framing of new instructions, the assembling of the council, the alterations in the conditions, the discussions on this subject, and perhaps also the despatching of some secret couriers, who arrived without my knowledge—all this was the business of six weeks.

Villars sent Contades to me, to request that I would give credit to whatever he should communicate to me in the king's name, and we both returned very expeditiously to Rastadt. Seeing that very few articles in my propositions were altered, I signed on the 6th of March.

I could not forbear laughing at the titles assumed by the emperor ; such as king of Corsica, Algiers, Jaen and the Canaries : duke of Athens and Neopatri ; lord of Tripoli, &c. ; and beside them, the most serene prince and lord Louis the Fourteenth ; then my titles in abundance, and next to them, the general of the French army, named De Villars ; and I admired the impertinence of our chanceries. “ I shall go to Vienna,” said I to him, “ to procure the ratification of our treaty, because I am afraid that some alterations might be made in it ; and I will soon see you again.”

I was most favourably received by the court and by the city, both being heartily tired of the war. I pro-

cured the appointment of plenipotentiaries to execute the necessary formalities with those of his most christian majesty. It was at Baden that they met for this purpose; and thither Villars and I repaired to affix our signatures once more to the same contract.

We were both apprehensive for a moment, lest the death of queen Anne, which happened just at this juncture, should produce some alteration; but our subaltern ministers had the good sense not to make any remonstrances to us on that subject.

All that now grieved me was to be obliged to part from Villars, whom I was never to see again. "We shall probably fight no more battles, and sign no more treaties together," said I, to him, "but we shall never cease to love and to esteem each other." That brave man was also affected at taking leave of me, and I departed for Vienna.

1715.—The short years of peace which I there passed were to me more fatiguing than those of war. Abundance of conferences with the English and Dutch ministers respecting the barrier-treaty of the Low Countries, and also with those of the emperor, Harrach, and Zinzendorf, about the restoration of the finances. They were dreadfully deranged. I had paid the army when, and how I could. It was necessary for a commanding general to have all his wits about him. My bulls had sometimes been protested; therefore, in the same manner as people send diamonds to a pawnbroker, I had sometimes pledged provinces. At length, by little and little, notwithstanding the disharmony of the chiefs of the different departments, I effected some little improvement in the revenues of the state.

When I received information of the death of Louis the Fourteenth, it produced, I confess, the same effect on me as the fall of an old stately oak, uprooted by a tempest, and extended on the ground. He had stood so long! death, before it erases great recollections, revives them all in the first moment. History is indulgent to princes in their outset. That of this great monarch needed no indulgence; but now age

had blunted the talons of the lion. A regency was destined to allow us time to breathe. But a circumstance occurred, which cut out plenty of work for us again.

At the beginning of May, I gave audience to a Turkish ambassador, who came to request the emperor not to interfere in the quarrel between the sublime porte and Venice.

On examining myself, I dare not decide whether my opinion was not governed by some small degree of personality. Glory is sometimes a hypocrite, which disguises itself in the cloak of the honour of states. One imagines insults, charges others with injuries, insolence, and bad intentions, and occasions the destruction of five hundred thousand men. But this time several of the ministers, and Guido Stahrenberg himself, though not a friend to me, coincided in my opinion. Charles the Sixth appointed me to the command of one hundred and twenty-five thousand men, of whom fifty-five thousand were detached in two corps.

Charles the Sixth conferred on me the government general of the Low Countries. I gave the post of deputy-governor to an Italian named Prié. I think I might have made a better choice.

We were again in want of money. Kaunitz went to collect what he could in the empire, and the pope granted us a brief for levying the tithes and extraordinary dues of the clergy in all the provinces of our monarchy.

The Turks were placing Temeswar in a good state of defence, when a fire, which burned forty houses of that town, and another at Belgrade, which consumed thirty vessels laden with stores, induced a belief that Mahomet disapproved the war. This moment of superstition was perhaps fortunate to me; for Löffelholz made himself master of Metrovitz without resistance.

The pacha complained of these hostilities. Löffelholz replied, that they had been begun on his side by the fire which his saicks had opened on some of the imperial troops who were sailing down the Save. The

poor pacha, who perhaps knew nothing of the matter ordered those who had fired to be impaled; but this I affected to consider as the first effect of anger rather than as a reparation.

It is scarcely possible to decide which of two parties is in the wrong at the commencement of a war. They quarrel, complain, recriminate, and fight, before the matter can be cleared up. The grand signior would, if he durst, have confined the emperor's resident, and sent the grand vizir with one hundred and twenty thousand men, who, thinking himself extremely cunning, pretended to be marching into Dalmatia, and suddenly turned off towards Belgrade, with orders not to pass the boundary of the two empires.

After witnessing the birth and decease of a young archduke, I set off from Vienna on the 1st of July, in consequence of information, either true or false, that the Turks intended to cross the Save. Langlet took possession of Ratheza. The sublime porte sent us a long manifesto, clever enough for a christian potentate, which contained sound argument, and wore an air of good faith; but it was easy for us to prove that a Turkish spy had already been impaled in our camp, and that an Hungarian renegado was collecting deserters of all nations to form a corps for the service of the Porte.

On the 27th of July, I went to Peterwaradin, and the grand vizir into the old entrenchments of Semlin. I had no great difficulty to draw him from them; for having as much inclination to fight as myself, he met me half way. His name was Hali; and such was his enmity to the Christians, that after taking one hundred thousand florins as the ransom of Breuner, who had been made prisoner, he nevertheless afterwards ordered his head to be cut off, as will be seen presently. A favourite with his father-in-law, Achmet the Third deeply involved in the intrigues of the seraglio, ignorant and presumptuous, he was the Villeroi of the Turks. "This grand vizir of the infidels," said he, meaning me, "is not what he passes for. This will presently



be seen, for I am marching against him." He accordingly crossed the Save. I sent John Palfy to reconnoitre; he had two horses killed under him, and retired in good order, though seventy thousand spahis attempted to surround him; but he gained a defile. "This at least," said I, "is a pretty decisive act of hostility on their part." It took place at Carlowitz, the very spot where peace had been concluded seventeen years before. On the 2d of August I crossed the Danube with my army. The host of spahis, who fancied they had gained some advantage in the great skirmish to which I have alluded, arrived too late to prevent me. They found me encamped behind old entrenchments; and as soon as Hali arrived with his janizaries, he fell to work to besiege me in their usual way. The approaches, trenches, parallels, batteries, were all commenced, and almost finished in some places by daybreak. They follow, as I have already observed, the plan of the Romans, without being aware of it, by entrenching themselves immediately on their arrival. On the 5th, at eight in the morning, they saluted me with all their artillery. I fully expected that this famous grand vizir would commit some blunder or other, and that he would be embarrassed with his superior numbers. Being unable to form a larger front, on account of my flanks being well supported, even when marching, he formed small bodies of troops which did not engage. These were perhaps designed for reserves, which his good sense might have suggested the idea of, (for he was not deficient in that, or in courage either,) but which were afterwards forgotten. The prince of Würtemberg, whom I ordered to make the first attack on my left, broke the enemy, and penetrated every where. But my right went on badly; the eight columns being obliged to break, in order to pass the apertures in my entrenchments; and being unable to deploy, on account of the proximity of those of the Turks were roughly handled. Lauken and Wallenstein were killed. At this moment, Bonneval once more laid me under the greatest obligations. All around him were killed;

he was himself wounded in the abdomen with a lance. He had but twenty-five men left ; but he gave me time to send Palfy, with two thousand horse, upon the flank of the janizaries, hitherto conquerors in this attack. We then became victorious, but not till after an engagement of five hours. I entered the magnificent tent of the grand vizir, Hali ; and there the chaplains of the nearest regiments, in a loud voice returned thanks to the God of armies in prayers repeated by the soldiers, with a demeanour both military and religious.

From this place I sent captain Zeil of my regiment to the emperor with the account, which was only five or six lines. 'Tis easy to be modest when one is successful.

I did not care to pursue the Turks, for they were still much stronger than we. They were fired upon, in their retreat, by the artillery of Peterwaradin. The unfortunate Hali died the next day at Carlowitz of two wounds which he received while endeavouring at the head of his guards to rally the fugitives ; and it was a few minutes before he expired that he ordered young Breunar, whom I have already mentioned, to be put to death, "in order," said he, "that this dog may not survive me. O that I could serve all the christian dogs in the same manner !"

The 25th of August I encamped before Temeswar, which I invested, and amused myself with taking the pacha's handsome kiosk and garden, and a mosque, which the Turks chose rather to abandon, than, as they said, to profane by defending it.

On the 1st of September the trenches were opened. I severely scolded prince Emanuel of Portugal, who, not content with being there, engaged in pursuit of a small body of Turks whom he espied. He had his horse killed, and received a violent contusion on the knee. Fortunately he did not take warning by this, but continued to expose himself much in these two campaigns. On the 9th the Turks made a wretched sally, and on the 24th a reinforcement, which they attempted to throw into the place, was soundly beaten.

On the 30th we took by assault the Palanka, on which the fate of the town almost depended; but it cost us very dear. I there lost a great number of officers, alike distinguished for their military and social qualities. On the 13th of October Temeswar capitulated. A few more rainy days would perhaps have forced me to raise the siege. How fortunate! The Turks demanded mercy for some Cowirouzzers. I recollect that my answer to this article was: "Those scoundrels may go whithersoever they please." That appellation is by no means a matter of indifference; it signifies a rebel, and though originally confined to those of Hungary, it is good policy to encourage the soldier to apply it to all the enemies of the house of Austria, as if they were its subjects, and consequently to treat them with all the contempt that is felt for traitors. The merest trifle sometimes gives a useful and advantageous bias to an army.

I set out for Vienna, but by the way went through, at Raab, the whole tedious ceremony of being invested with the consecrated cap and sword, with which the pope was pleased to decorate me.

The venerable veteran Heister, whom I had appointed governor after the battle and siege in which he had distinguished himself, (being determined to take part in them, notwithstanding his great age,) came to meet me at the head of the garrison. Bishop Gondor put the cap on my head. I wrote a handsome letter in Latin to his holiness, and pursued my journey with the chevalier Rasponi, who had brought me all these fine things, whom I took as a volunteer about my person, and who was soon afterwards killed in a duel about a courtesan.

1717.—Not a soul complained of an enormous but very judiciously divided tax, imposition, and contribution, which I proposed to be laid on the whole monarchy, at the same time furnishing it with means of commerce which nobody would have thought of. Charles the Sixth ordered all those who had it in their power to interfere, not to molest me, and he found the

benefit of it. Oppenheimer, the celebrated Jew, supplied me in a very short time with remounts and stores. They cost me rather dear, but I was in haste.

Princes and volunteers came from all quarters to serve under me, in numbers sufficient to compose a squadron. Among the former were a prince of Hesse, two of Bavaria, a Bevern, a Culmbach, one of Würtemberg, two of Ligne, one of Lichtenstein, one of Anhalt Dessau, the comte de Charolai, the princess of Dombes, Marsillac, Pons, &c. &c.

The emperor made me a present of a magnificent diamond crucifix, assuring me that all my victories past and to come were from God—an excellent way of releasing himself from all obligations to me; and I set out for Futack, where I reassembled the army at the end of May.

It was necessary for me to make myself master of Belgrade, which, during three centuries, had been so often taken and retaken. Luckily, I found there no John de Capistran, the Franciscan, who, with the crucifix in his hand, and standing all day in the hottest fire, defended the place with such obstinacy: nor an Hunniades who commanded there against Mahomet the Second, in 1456. Hunniades died of his wounds; Mahomet lost an eye, and the friar was canonized.

The grand signior had unfortunately too well replaced the hot-headed grand vizir, who had been killed. His successor was Hatschi Ali, Pacha of Belgrade, who made the most judicious dispositions for the preservation of the place, and gave me a good deal of trouble. The 10th of June I crossed the Danube: my volunteer princes threw themselves into boats that they might arrive first, and have an opportunity of charging the spahis with some squadrons of Mercy's regiment, which had already crossed below Panczova, for the purpose of covering the landing of some, and the bridge constructed upon eighty-four vessels for the others. On the 19th I went with a strong escort to reconnoitre the spot where I intended to pitch my camp. Twelve hundred spahis rushed upon us with unparalleled fury,

shouting *Allah ! Allah !* I know not how one of their officers forced his way through a squadron in front of me, that he might come to seek me at the head of the second, where I was from prudence, having a great many orders to give. He missed me. I was going to despatch him with my pistol, when a dragoon by my side knocked him from his horse. We had the same day a naval engagement, which lasted two hours, and as our saicks gained the advantage, I remained master of the operations on the Danube. The 20th I made the troops work at the lines of countervallation, under a tremendous fire from the town. Toward the conclusion of June, I removed my camp so near to Belgrade, that the balls were incessantly flying over my head. A tempest destroyed my bridges, and but for the intrepidity of a Hessian officer in a redoubt, I know not how I should have reconstructed that of the Save.

Intending to take the place from the side next the water, I sent Mercy to attack a fort at the mouth of the Donawitz ; but he fell from his horse in a fit of apoplexy. He was brought back for dead : fortunately, however, he afterwards recovered. Being apprized of the accident, I went to replace him, and the fort was taken. The prince of Dombes had a narrow escape by my side, from a ball which made my horse prance. Marcilly was killed while bravely defending himself in a post, which I had directed him to entrench. He begged assistance of Rodolph Heister, who refused it, and who was luckily killed (as a punishment for his cowardice) by a cannon-ball which reached him behind his chevaux de frise. I arrived by accident at first with a strong escort only : I sent for a large detachment ; I stopped, and completely defeated the janizaries, leaving indeed five hundred killed upon the spot, and among them, Torre, Visconti, Siegen, &c. Here also fell the Pacha of Romelia, the best officer of the Mussulmans.

On the 22d of July, my batteries were finished. I bombarded, burned, and battered down the city at such a rate, that it would have capitulated, but for the

intelligence that the grand vizir was expected to arrive on the 30th at Nissa, with two hundred thousand men.

The 1st of August he made his appearance on the heights that overlooked my camp, extending in a semi-circle from the hills of Krotzka to those of Dedina. The Mussulmans who covered them formed the finest amphitheatre in the world, a charming view for a painter, but a most execrable one for a general. Cooped up between this army and a fortress with a garrison of thirty thousand men, the Danube on my right, and the Save on my left, my resolution was formed. I intended to march out of my lines to attack them, notwithstanding the advantage of their ground; but the fever which had already begun to make havoc among my army, did not spare me. There was I seriously ill, and confined to my bed, instead of being at the head of my troops, whom I was anxious to lead to glory.

I must needs think that they were rather uneasy at court, in the city, and even in my army. Both courage and good fortune are required to extricate one's self from such a situation. Any general, who should have replaced me, might, nay must, have supposed that he should be ruined if he retreated, and beaten if he did not. Our condition was growing daily worse. The heavy artillery of the Turks had arrived on the heights which I have mentioned. We were so bombarded from them, as well as from the fortress, that I knew not where to place my tent, for several of my servants had been killed going into and out of it. In the little skirmishes (and such were very frequent) with the spahis, my young volunteers never failed to go and ply their pistols, though the cannon always interfered in these affairs. One day d'Estrades, governor of the prince de Dombes, had a leg shot off by his side, and one of his pages was killed. All our princes whom I have named above distinguished themselves, and loved me as their father.

I had caused the country in the rear of the grand vizir's army to be ravaged; but those people, as well as their horses, and above all their camels, subsist upon

almost nothing. Not an hour passed in which I was not losing a score men by the dysentery, or the cannon of the lines, which the infidels every night advanced a good deal nearer to my entrenchments. I was, if any thing, less the besieger than the besieged. Things went on better for me in the city. A bomb in a powder magazine completely destroyed it, and occasioned the loss of three thousand lives.

At length I recovered from my disorder, and on the 15th of August, in spite of the bad advice of people who are not fond of battles, I determined upon an engagement. I expected that ennui and despair would give me success.

I slept not like Alexander before the battle of Arbela, though the Turks did, without being Alexanders: opium and predestination make them philosophers. I gave short and clear instructions according to any circumstances that might happen, and left my entrenchments about one in the morning. The darkness, and then the fog, rendered my first efforts a game of chance. Some of my battalions of the right wing fell on their march, without intending it, into a branch of the trenches of the Turks. Dreadful was the confusion that ensued among the latter, as they have neither advanced posts nor scouts; our confusion was not less, baffling all description: on the left and in the centre they began firing on both sides, without knowing at what. The janizaries fled from their entrenchments, into which I had time to throw fascines and gabions, to form a passage for my cavalry, who pursued them I know not how. The fog dispersed, and the Turks perceived a terrible opening; but for my second line, which I ordered to march immediately to fill this chasm, I should have been undone. I would then have marched in order; but no such thing; I was better served than I imagined. La Colonie, at the head of his Bavarians, gave way to his ardour, and took a battery of eighteen pieces of cannon. I was obliged to do better than I would: I supported the Bavarians; and the Turks, after running to the very heights, lost all the advantage

of their ground. A large body of their cavalry fell upon mine, which had advanced too far; a whole regiment was cut in pieces, but two others seasonably coming up to its relief decided the victory. Here I received a cut with a sabre; it was, I believe, my thirteenth wound, and probably my last. All was over by eleven in the morning. Viard, during the action, overawed the garrison of Belgrade, which capitulated the same day. I forgot that there was no Boufflers in the city; I behaved generously, and granted the honours of war to the garrison, who not knowing what they meant, neglected to avail itself of them. Men, women, children, carriages, and camels, departed all at once, pell-mell, either by land or by water.

At Vienna, the devout ascribed my success to a miracle, and those who envied me, to good luck. Charles the Sixth, I believe, was among the former, and Guido Stahrenberg among the latter. I was well received there, as might be expected.

It has already been seen that I sometimes sat in judgment on myself. Here is my opinion respecting this victory, which I have rather to justify myself for than to boast of. My partisans have extolled it too highly, and those who were jealous of me have found too much fault with it. They ought rather to have proposed to cut off my head on this occasion than for Zenta, for there I risked nothing. I was sure of victory; whereas here I might not only have been beaten, but overwhelmed, undone, if a tempest or the cannon of the Turkish lines to the left on the banks of the Danube had destroyed my bridges; but I had indeed the superiority in saicks, workmen, and gunners, to protect or repair them, and a corps at Semlin.

Could I anticipate the tardiness or ill-will of authorities which clash where there are so many internal abuses in the administration, and such ignorance in the heads of the civil department and commissariat? This cause kept me destitute of all that was necessary for me to begin the siege and take Belgrade before the arrival of the grand vizir; and this afterwards prevented



me from being beforehand with him upon the heights ; which I should nevertheless have occupied, but for my accursed fever, before his artillery had arrived there. And then that unfortunate dysentery, which carried my army to the hospital, or rather to the grave ; for every regiment had a cemetery behind its camp—could any one anticipate that too ? It was these two reasons that made me attack, and consequently risk every thing and nothing, for I was as sure to be ruined in one way as in the other. I threw up entrenchments upon entrenchments ; I knew a little more on that subject than my comrade the grand vizir ; and had a sufficient number of people in health to guard them. I obliged him to decamp for want of provisions, (for the country to the distance of seven miles behind his camp had been ravaged, as I have already observed,) and consequently Belgrade to surrender. If then this manuscript should come to light, no praise, my dear reader, or censure. In a word, I might not have come off so well, but for the protection of the virgin, according to the opinion of Charles the Sixth his jesuit, and the pious souls who wished me at the devil ; for the battle was fought on Assumption day.

Europe was negotiating elsewhere. Some charitable creature advised the emperor to send me for that purpose to London, with a view to procure for another the easy glory of putting an end to the war.

1718.—I was not such a simpleton as to be caught in this snare, and I set out for Hungary at the beginning of June, with a fine sword, worth eighty thousand florins, given me by the emperor.

In regard to friends and enemies, I ought to observe that I was often indebted for my successes to foreigners serving in my armies. Among these I have had the following Frenchmen : Commercy, Vaudemont, Stainville, Rabutin, Erbeville, Saint-Amour, Dupigny, Montigni, Corbeille, Bonneval, Langallerie, Castel, Viard, Vaubonne, the two Mercys ; princes of Lorraine, Croy, la Marche, Hautois, Gondrecour, la Colonie, Batté, Faber, Marisny, Martigny, Langlet, and the duke of

Aremberg, whom I may reckon a foreigner, being from the Low Countries. All of them had many French officers in their regiments. There were likewise a great number in the two regiments of Francis and Leopold Lorraine, in mine, in that of my nephew, and of Emanuel, prince of Portugal. Hamilton, Brown, and the two Wallis's, were Irish. Of Italians I had Marcelli, Montecuculli, Veterani, Locatelli, Arragoni, Bagni, Orselti, Massei, Magni Videlli, Negrelli, Rosa Grana, Porica, Perselli, Cavriani, Strasoldo, &c. ; and of Spaniards, Vasques, Galbes, Cordua, Ahumada, and Alcandet.

I might also reckon as foreigners (for they pass almost for such at Vienna) the Hungarians, of whom I had two Palfys, Nadasti, Esterhazy, Spleni, Ebergeni, Baboezai, which proves that there were many Austrians at court, and few in the army ; my Germans being almost all from the empire. The heads of families, and the eldest sons, do not enter into the service in this country. It was in vain that I attempted to introduce the fashion.

The Turks were desirous of making peace, and so was the emperor. I could very well have dispensed with it, for I confess that I was fond of war. All the courts sent negotiators to Passarowitz. To procure the better conditions, I marched towards the grand vizir, who had just arrived with his army in the neighbourhood of Nissa. I should have had an easy task, for he had only eighty thousand men ; I was in the best disposition for attacking him, when a cursed courier brought me the unwelcome intelligence that the treaty of peace had been signed on the 21st of July. With us this is only called a truce, which one observes as long as one pleases, or breaks according to circumstances. This lasted but twenty-five years. It was a cardinal, who ought to have been the enemy of Mahomet, that saved his empire. In this manner policy trifles with religion. Alberoni caused Spain to declare against us.

If the repairs which I ordered to be made at Oisowa,

and the fortifications at Belgrade, and the allotment of quarters in Hungary had not detained me there, I should have caused the emperor to be respected in my government general of the Low Countries. Prié had suppressed the first commotion by fetching from Luxemburg prince Ferdinand de Ligne's regiment of dragoons. A second took place; the rioters in the great square at Brussels were fired upon, but instead of continuing to employ force, Prié was frightened, because he was told that the country-people were coming to avenge the death of the inhabitants of the city. He ought to have been recalled, but the wily Italian, well aware that this would be my opinion, made amends for his weakness.

1719.—With a force of twenty-five thousand men, whom I prevailed upon the emperor to send to the Low Countries, upon a third rebellion, (for the citizens of Brussels attempted from day to day to undermine the authority of the sovereign,) he caused, on the 18th of December, the five ringleaders to be hanged, and Anniessens, the father of the city, to be beheaded. (18.) When his head dropped upon the scaffold, the silly rebels dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, as formerly in that of Egmont and Hoorn; and all was over. Weary of these disturbances, to which one could not apply the name of revolts, and the squabbles of Prié and Bonneval, who, at the distance of three hundred leagues, endeavoured to oblige me to take up the sword again, and to crown all his indiscretions had turned Turk, I requested the emperor to give his sister a government, to which I had not time to go and reduce the people to reason. Here is what I had written to Prié during the troubles; which proves that people knew not what they were talking about when they said that I supported him; for I never studied appearances: “Represent to the Flemings, that it is their interest to cause a belief that they have it in their power to revolt, in order that they may be treated with some indulgence by the court; but never to do so, because they would demonstrate the poverty of their character, and the

nullity of their resources. Represent to them that with four pieces of cannon at the corners of a city, one may make it tremble. Represent to the least stupid, that nothing is ever gained by a revolution, because people know not what to set up in the place of what they have destroyed; and that the worst of sovereigns is preferred to the ablest men who succeed him. Besides, ours is too good to them; the government of the house of Austria is of the mildest kind. Represent to the most upright that the accomplishment of a revolution requires crimes which make one shudder, but without which rebels are only laughed at; and that they must chose between the gibbet and obedience: and you, M. Prié, between your recall and the Spielberg; vigour to prevent insurrections, and vigour to punish them."

The emperor made me his vicar-general in Italy, with a salary of one hundred and fifty thousand florins.

Alberoni, our inveterate enemy, being dismissed, and his Philip the Fourth having acceded to the quadruple alliance, I had time to think of my pleasure. It was my fancy to build my palace in the suburbs, somewhat in the Turkish or Arabic taste, with my four towers, which I well knew were not in any genuine style of architecture, but they called to mind a great event. It was the spot where, in 1529, the grand vizir had pitched his tent; and I constructed my menagerie at Beugebey exactly like the Mufti's camp, with towers in which there had been tents for prayer.

The arrangement of my maps, plans, and fine editions, which I had bought in London, and of the excellent French, Latin, and Italian works, well bound, afforded me occupation, as well as my cascades, large jets d'eau, and superb basins. To return to my towers, for which I was censured, I replied to those who found fault with them: "I am as well acquainted as you are with the five Grecian orders, and also with the seven orders of battle of Vegetius. I like to have an order of my own in both sciences, and I have found the benefit of it."

A very agreeable moment for me was occasioned by

a Turkish embassy. The grand signior sent me the two finest Arabian horses I ever saw, a scimitar, and a turban, with this message: "The one is a symbol of thy valour, the other of thy genius and of thy wisdom." I like this eastern compliment, and distrust those of Christians.

1720.—This was one of the most tranquil years of my life. Taken up entirely with the arts and company, I did not do much. We had, as every where else, love intrigues and court intrigues; but among the latter, none of those of waiting-women, such as we had seen in France. Our sovereigns, fortunately owing to their great pride, do not degrade themselves by intercourse with the vulgar. Every where else the valets, the grooms of the time of Rodolph the Second, the huntsmen, (where the monarch is fond of the chase,) and, in short, mean people possess influence, afford protection, are dangerous, and do mischief. Charles the Sixth, on the contrary, in order to keep them at a distance, made his chamberlains dress him, and they, after putting on his shoes, made a low genuflexion, and retired without uttering a word.

Agreeably to my advice, the protestants were protected against the too orthodox catholics and the elector palatine, to whom, but for this, the king of Prussia would have proved that he was the protector of his religion. In spite of me, Nimsch was punished for having written against me, it was said, and for having corresponded with Alberoni; but I procured a pardon for him, at least in part. As I did not even care about the excellent songs of Rousseau and Bonneval, still less should I notice paltry paragraphs, or ill-written declamations.

1722.—I had not much to say, and very little to do. Charles the Sixth displayed his magnificence at the marriage of his niece. I gave entertainments too, and must confess that I was delighted with my military court, and my old comrades. That of the emperor was naturally more illustrious in point of rank, but not in merit. All the most distinguished persons in the em-

pire were there. But the situation of La Favorita, in a street of the suburbs, was not favourable either to distinction or dignity. The dresses were all superb; but taking no pleasure in parade of that kind, I often wore my uniform, and some of the generals followed my example.

I received a great deal of company at my house between dinner and the play, because I find that more business may be done in a drawing-room than in a closet. I walked about with some foreign minister, or sat down in a corner with some of our own; and a communicative air makes people talkative. On the other hand, I often see the reserve of others repel every body; and concealing their mediocrity under the cloak of gravity and discretion, these gentlemen know no one, they are unacquainted with public and private opinion; and less secret than discreet, they are strangers to all that is passing. 'Tis thus that sovereigns are often deceived for want of mixing with society.

There has not been a single bad one of the house of Austria, excepting Philip the Second, all his life, and Ferdinand the Second, once or twice. Charles the Sixth was only unfortunate in the choice of his servants. His minister of the finances was an idiot. I caused him to be dismissed, and Gundacker Stahrenberg, a man of merit, to be appointed in his stead. Strattman likewise possessed infinite merit and great intelligence. Jorger had sound judgment, and spoke and wrote extremely well.

1723.—Charles the Sixth went to be crowned king of Bohemia: more pleasures and ceremonies. Charles had a reserved Spanish air, and took but little pains to laugh, though he was very fond of buffoons. This is always the case with people who are not naturally cheerful. He was good and just.

Leopold, in my opinion, had more understanding; but Joseph, who possessed still more than either, was amiable, and would have governed in his own person. I said to him shortly before his death: "Employ, sire,

none but honest men; but if you sometimes find a scoundrel willing to undertake the dirty work of intrigues, and not ashamed to have his conduct disavowed, make use of such a one without esteeming him. The honour of states is not so ticklish as that of individuals. Bad faith and meanness, independently of the abhorrence which they excite, are not sound policy. But address and dissimulation are allowable. Don't proceed too far against Rome and the clergy. You do not love France; that I think perfectly natural, for though beaten by us at present she possesses more resources than your majesty. If we continue successful, notwithstanding the change which is preparing in England, after you have made peace, do not begin again; and never threaten any power, till you are ready to strike. A young and ambitious monarch at the head of that, would conquer the world. Fortunately when Louis the Fourteenth was young, he speedily returned to Versailles to dance *l'aimable vainqueur*, and to hear an opera by his panegyrist Quinault: and at present he has not long to live." Though Joseph was not a bigot like his successor, he would never have deceived the share-holders of the company of Ostend, and with his magnanimous character, he would not have crouched, like him, to the maritime powers. He one day said to me: "Had I been in my father's place, I should not have run away to Lintz, when you entered into our service. I would not have suffered myself to be shut up in Vienna; but would have acted as *aid-de-camp* to the duke of Lorraine, at the battle of Vienna. I know what courtiers are. I saw enough of them at the siege of Landau. They pretended to tremble for us, and it is for themselves they tremble all the while." The severe and frigid Leopold was not fond of Joseph. He was more partial to Charles, his younger brother, who was less petulant, and more of a Spaniard in every respect, and could not forgive his love of pleasure, and his bursts of passion. It is true he was once guilty of great inde-

corum in beating, in his presence, and that of a large company at a public entertainment, one of his people who did not pay proper attention to him. (19.)

When I did not directly interfere in matters of little importance, I was reproached with indolence, authorized, it was spitefully observed, by my long and active military service. Had I entered into all the petty details, I should have been called trifling. I left them to Koch, Etlet, and Brockhausen, my referendaries. People clamoured against them; that made very little impression upon me: I had on my side all the good company, the populace, and the soldiery, whom I loved more than I did a great many illustrious nobles, with whom I had occasion to be dissatisfied for their want of talents in war. I supported those three gentlemen, it was alleged. I was not a weathercock to turn with every wind. They understood me if I spoke but half a word; and I should have done more harm to the public service by changing them, than good by redressing perhaps some slight abuses which it is difficult to discover and to prevent.

I read much, and had others to read to me: I had scarcely ever had time for it before. I was surprised to find in the history of the Greeks, the Romans, and the French of the early years of Louis the Fourteenth, many things which I had done, without knowing of these precedents, as if by instinct. I resolved to give my library to the emperor after my death, for he wants it, but my niece not at all. She will like better to play, and to keep a little court.

1724.—I applied myself a good deal to internal affairs. I said to the ministers: "Cannot you disband this host of underlings, who prevent the money from reaching the pocket of the sovereign? contrive a tax proportionate to the income or earnings of each individual? provide habitations for paupers, and set them to work? consult the English, the Dutch, the bankers, for a good system of finance and manufactures? invite Flemings to improve our agriculture? bring our heaths into cultivation, by means of the monks or the soldiers,



for whom villages might be built on them? borrow of the clergy at two per cent.? dig a bed for the river Wien, to carry off the filth of the esplanade, which infects the city, and construct a fine quay, planted with four alleys of plantain-trees or acacia? join the rivers by canals? cause the roads to be repaired by the proprietors of the adjacent lands, without ruining the government by constructing them? double our population by the Huguenots of France, and the emigrants from the empire who are ill used by their petty tyrants of sovereigns?"

I said to our generals: "Cannot you, to spare the emperor's subjects, raise regiments of Turks, Poles, Prussians, Saxons, and Italians, by inducing them to desert, and enlisting deserters? levy a Hungarian, Austrian, Bohemian, and Walloon army, with none but officers of their respective nations to keep alive emulation? give furloughs to native subjects? keep up strong garrisons at Vienna, Presburg, Olmutz, Gratz, Lintz, Brussels, Luxemburg, and Milan? form an entrenched camp on each frontier, since fortresses are too expensive; and encourage the breeding of horses, that money may not be carried out of the country?"

Report has given a mistress to Charles the Sixth as to any other person—the Spanish Altheim, though she was no more his mistress than the Italian lady was mine formerly, or than Bathiany is now: but as his friend, I said to her: "Cannot you persuade the emperor to gain the love of the electors and first princes of the empire; to draw them to Vienna by magnificent fêtes; to give them the order of the Fleece, or some other to their ministers, or colours to their bastards, and pensions or handsome recruiting officers to their mistresses?"

I said to the confessor:—"Prevent accusations, informations, cabals, unjust proceedings for want of entering into the merits of cases; the monks from enriching themselves by foundations and votive gifts. Allow every convent to keep a certain number of invalids."

To the emperor I said: "Prevent the Prussians, sire, from rising; the Russians from forming and acquainting themselves with our affairs; and the French from gaining the preponderance. Your monarchy is rather straggling; but for that very reason it adjoins the north, the south, and the east. It is moreover in the centre of Europe, to which your majesty ought to give law."

I return to the Spanish Altheim. As Charles the Sixth liked to speak Spanish, he distinguished this lady. He would have made love with the same gravity as he killed the grand-equerry to whom I have alluded. He was afflicted beyond measure at the accident; but nothing ever appeared on his imperial face.

It were to be wished that this female had introduced into Austria the gallantry of her country, like the mother of Louis the Fourteenth, to whom the court of France owed its politeness, its taste, the amenity of its manners, still rather savage, in consequence of the troubles which that nation, fickle and cruel as children, prolonged with such barbarity. Of this the Germans are incapable, but without gallantry, fortunately not without love, though restrained by the devotion of their sovereigns; this only excited a higher relish for its pleasures, which were not the less indulged in at Vienna. There are in this country so many beautiful women, that in vain were ugly ones sought as attendants on the court; scarcely any could be found, and thus the intention of their imperial majesties to remove all dangerous objects from their antechambers and galleries was never accomplished.

1725.—The congress of Cambray went on very ill; Riparda was sent to Vienna. He was referred to Zinzendorf and me, to whom was left the business of demanding, refusing, and at length accommodating matters; and on the 1st of May we signed the treaty between Austria and Spain. I was much pleased with the society of the duke de Richelieu, whom cardinal Fleury caused to be ridiculously recalled on account of an absurd story of a conspiracy in the gardens of Leo-

poldstadt. By a double artifice on his part, of policy and love, he endeavoured, and expected to gain madame de Bathiany; and thinking himself extremely cunning, he sometimes played with us at piquet. This amused us much. The wish for an adventure that should make some noise rendered him every day more and more agreeable to us both. He won neither the lady nor the secret; but we were delighted with his redoubled pains to please us.

1726.—After having been a soldier, minister, grand vizir, financier, postilion, negotiator, I was at last made a merchant. I established the Ostend company, which the gold and jealousy of the maritime powers caused afterwards to be suppressed; and another at Vienna, to traffic, export, and navigate upon the Danube and Adriatic Sea, where I converted Trieste into a port capable of containing two squadrons of men-of-war, to escort and protect the merchant vessels. I directed other small ports, or at least shelters, to be formed in the Gulf of Venice, the advantages of which were acknowledged by the whole monarchy.

1727.—I spent this whole year in consulting merchants, bankers, and men of business; in drawing them over from foreign countries; in writing to England and Holland, for the purpose of establishing good commercial houses at Ostend and Antwerp; and to Spain, Italy, and even Turkey, with a view to establish others at Trieste and Vienna. This interested, amused, and occupied me exceedingly. I frustrated the miserable plans of our ministers of finance, who had never studied or travelled. I occasioned the settlement among us of consuls, a kind of people to whom we alone were before strangers. I formed studs in Hungary and Bohemia for breeding horses, that money might not be sent out of the country: and I can affirm that for ten years the emperor's affairs never went on so well, and perhaps never will again.

1728.—Charles the Sixth resolved to go and examine the improvements at Trieste. I was of the party, and should have been heartily tired but for prince Francis

of Lorraine, who was extremely amiable, handsome, only twenty years of age, and gay as his little court of Lorraine. (20.) Some pretty ladies belonging to the court who attended the empress in this journey, contributed to render it pleasing, notwithstanding the bigoted austerity of that princess.

Charles the Sixth, though the bravest of men now living, was less so by half than Leopold. He knew how to give his court a suitable degree of splendour, and, with us and our attendants, he had more than fifteen hundred persons in his retinue. He had dances at Gratz; killed shamois by the way; and was satisfied with the port and city of Trieste.

1729.—To complete my work, I had to battle a good deal with the over-righteous catholics and big wigs of this country. The jesuits are indulgent when one knows how to manage them. They were very useful to me in procuring a cessation of the persecutions practised upon the protestants in my fleet, who were forbidden the exercise of their religion. The only sailors left me were those who had none at all, or hypocrites. This was still worse; for how could I trust these two classes of people, who had no fear of God, but only feared the emperor? The honest Swedish, Danish, Hamburgh, and Lübeck sailors, and merchants, returned or remained; thanks to a couple of protestant ministers whom I kept on board of our ships.

1730.—At length I enjoyed the pleasure of having the first fair at Trieste; and after some labour upon the finances, to find money enough to raise thirty-six thousand men, with whom the emperor resolved to augment his army. He was right to hold himself in readiness for all events; 'tis the way to preserve peace. But I thought I could perceive that certain intriguers for their own private interests, or certain zealous, but shallow persons, would not be displeased to produce a rupture on the first opportunity. The French are clever in discovering what passes, and by these means are always in a better condition than others.

1731.—The duke of Liria was the minister of Spain,

and Robinson minister of England. People were not long in the dark respecting my long conferences with them ; and on the 22nd of July, a treaty of offensive alliance between our three courts was signed. I am no friend to protracted preparations or to half-measures. One is ignorant what is passing at one's own court, though it is known at foreign courts. It is not till the first day of the campaign that the public ought to be informed of alliances.

1732.—The court of Versailles, for example, was not duped by the journey to Carlsbad, whither I accompanied the emperor, who gave out that he was going for the benefit of the waters. It was obvious that some interview was in contemplation. The king of Prussia (21) was waiting for us at Prague, and the moment I had dressed myself to pay my respects to him, who should enter but his majesty. " No ceremony," said he to me ; " I am come to chat with my master " He was a Charles the Twelfth of peace ; he dreamt of nothing but military matters ; but these were only parades, exercises, short coats, little hats, and tall men. I was obliged to hear him talk on all these subjects, of the fine order of his troops, and of his economy. Here I took him up, and advised him to amass plenty of money and plenty of men to defend us if we were attacked ; for my system, as may be perceived, was not to make war, but to create a barrier against France, in order to take from her all inclination to attack us. Preferring friends to allies, who are often troublesome, and a kind of tutors, I only engaged him not to declare against us ; knowing his avarice, I was apprehensive lest we should not prevail so far. I persuaded Charles the Sixth to descend a step from his Spanish haughtiness, and at least to give him a friendly reception. He gave him a handsome entertainment, which cost a good deal of money. I prevailed upon all the Bohemian nobility to pay high honours to the king. He would have preferred a review to a ball, but that was not our forte. I had been so successful in the higher tactics as to care nothing

about wheeling to the right and left, and the manual exercise. The contrast of the dignity and magnificence of our emperor in a mantle of gold, with this royal corporal, was very diverting. He returned to Potzdam, and we to Vienna.

1733.—It was about this time that I clearly perceived the diminution of my influence. The king of Poland died in the month of February. Russia proposed to assist us in securing the election of his son Augustus the Third, in spite of France, who was desirous of again seating Stanislaus upon the throne. A great conference at court; scarcely any division of opinion: that for making war is espoused principally by those who take no part in war, as the ministers, the priests, the women, and the loungers of a great city. I said one day in a company where they were clamouring on the subject: "I wish that your excellencies, and you ladies, were each obliged to pay four thousand ducats; and that you fine gentlemen had to march immediately with muskets on your shoulders." This reminds me of two lines which I read some time ago, I know not where;—

*Et pour un soufflet qui ne se battrait pas,  
A la mort fait courir pour l'honneur des états.*

At length it was asserted, that the so-called honour of the state was compromised, if we did not go to war. "I acknowledge it not," said I to the ministers, "except when it is supported by powerful means: those of France never were so strong as at present; her finances are in the best possible state, in consequence of twenty years of peace. We have had scarcely ten since the treaty of Westphalia: that is to say, for a period of near eighty years. Her administration is wise." I would not roundly declare that ours was not, but I hinted as much. "What have we to do with a war so foreign to the Germanic body, which will make this reflection, and send us no assistance? The Russians are too distant to afford any; and before they arrive, the empire and Italy will be overrun. Recollect the

versatile conduct of England in my better days · she is ever ready to repeat it. A mercantile policy is always to be heard at the doors of her parliament. The Englishman, just, noble, upright, and generous, on his private account, is the contrary in behalf of his country. 'Tis a land of contradiction, whose constitution the ocean alone supports ; as bad faith in speeches, and a desire to shine, support the opposition. The haughtiness and unskilfulness often manifested by the emperor's envoys at foreign courts frequently cause them to slip away from him, and render it impossible to reckon upon any thing ; and notwithstanding my conversations with Liria and Robinson, I would lay a wager that Spain will declare for France, and England will remain neuter."

Good as were the reasons which I alleged to prove that France would be very glad to find a pretext for a war with us, and bad as were those employed to refute them, the latter, nevertheless, prevailed. It was perhaps supposed that I should refuse the command of the army, which was offered me out of compliment ; but this was a mistake, for I accepted it. For my own part, individually, I am fond of war ; and in this I wished to meet the fate of Turenne.

Before I had time to assemble the army, the command of which, till my arrival, was given to the duke of Bevern, and while I was making all my arrangements with the council of war, what I had foreseen happened. On the 28th of October, the French had taken the fortress of Kehl, levied contributions throughout the whole empire, and overrun the Milanese. Sardinia and Spain had declared against us. In vain I represented to the empire till I was tired, that the aggression of France ought to make it declare in our favour : three electors protested against such declaration, alleging that this invasion concerned only the head of the empire ; that it was merely a passage through for the purpose of attacking Austria, and that France had promised to restore all she might take as soon as the

emperor should dissolve his connection with the elector of Saxony.

1734.—Stanislaus was obliged to fly: the divan of Constantinople began to take alarm at the preponderance of Russia. The grand vizir, Hali Pacha, wrote to me: "Nalkiran is dead." This appellation was given to him in that country on account of his strength: it signifies breaker of horse-shoes. (22.) "Poland has elected one of her great nobles. Why should the Czarina violate in two instances her treaties with her neighbours, and the liberty of a country, in which she is desirous of rendering the crown hereditary, and annulling an election? The sublime porte is a guarantee to it, and will not suffer such a procedure."

The influence of Russia and hostility to France having gained the ascendancy at our court, I could not reply to him that I was of the same opinion as the sublime porte. In spite of my real sentiments, I justified the Czarina, and among the wretched reasons which I urged, I said: "That she had entered Poland with no other view than to put an end to the murders and quarrels of the different factions who were tearing one another in pieces; that the party which had chosen Augustus the Second in the same camp where Henry de Valois was formerly elected, was much stronger than that of Stanislaus, too insignificant a nobleman to be a king; and that he was supported only because he was father-in-law to the king of France; that the son of Augustus the Third had been elected Piast; (23.) that he was as much so as any other; that the primate had required it; and that my emperor hoped that his master and himself should agree together for the restoration of peace in the north of Europe."

All this I wrote to the Turks, in order to afford the Russians no occasion to fight them; for they always pretend to be insulted, and the people under their protection oppressed, to obtain a pretext for taking some fortresses.

I arrived on the 25th of April at Heilbron. On the 27th I reviewed the army a few leagues from Philips-



burg. I still shed tears of joy, tenderness, and gratitude, whenever I recollect how I was received with repeated shouts of "Long live our father!" and thousands of hats thrown into the air. The old companions of my campaigns in Hungary, Italy, Flanders, and Bavaria, crowded to kiss the tops of my boots; they surrounded me, embraced my horse, and even pulled me down with their caresses. This moment was certainly the most delicious of my life; but it was embittered by the reflection that I had only thirty five thousand men, that the enemy had eighty thousand, and announced his determination to march to Vienna. I conducted them into the lines of Ettlingen; but these were calculated for one hundred thousand men, and I had no inclination to repeat the affair of Denain. I abandoned them; but I made so many marches and countermarches, and abattis, and played off so many stratagems, that I prevented Berwick from penetrating into the interior of the country. He could do nothing but lay siege to Philipsburg. This was what I wanted, in order to gain time. His head was there carried off by a cannon-ball, eight days after the opening of the trenches. I was envious on this occasion, and it was for the first time in my life. (24.) I was disappointed in this plan, as well as in that of attacking the French in their lines. I thought I had discovered a place badly fortified, and with a small quantity of artillery; they had neglected it, because it was covered by a morass which I had been told was passable, but which I found it impossible to cross; for I went myself to reconnoitre it: one cannot implicitly rely on any report. This has been my practice all my life; I have found the benefit of it, as well as of constantly having a pencil in my pocket to write down in an officer's tablets the order which I give him to carry.

I had received some Hessian, Hanoverian, and Prussian reinforcements: among whom I distinguished the prince royal, who appeared a young man of infinite promise. (25.) D'Asfeld had surpassed himself. Never

did I see any thing so strong ; for instance, his ditches, or *trous des loups*, were conical, and superior to those of Condé at Arras : it was from this reconnoitring that I formed my opinion of the young prince whom I have just mentioned. When I was resolved to fight, I never assembled a council of war ; but this time I was sure that every one would be of my opinion. I determined to cross the Rhine, and to recross it higher up to attack D'Asfeld. For this service I had destined three thousand cavalry and ten thousand Swiss.

This devil of a fellow had all his wits about him, and at length took Philipsburg, in spite of my cannonade of his camp, in which I rather acted the grand vizir of Belgrade, for my batteries and parapets were elevated to fire down upon it, and the water, besides, was still more terrible than the fire. I relied more upon the effect of the one than the other. But what a nation ! capable of every thing. Richelieu, whom I had known a Sybarite, so delicate and voluptuous, the young courtiers, the Durases, and the La Vallières, were metamorphosed. They only want a leader. D'Asfeld was a rigid disciplinarian, and set a good example ; and before him Berwick held them in awe. They threw up the trenches in boats, and endured every hardship with unequalled patience. I never had any, for my part, under mental sufferings. The first that had attacked the other would have been beaten, and had that been my lot, the French might have gone to Vienna, for there was no fortified place on the way, or upon the flanks : and the elector of Bavaria, who had subject of complaint, only waited for this to declare against Austria, whose haughtiness or awkwardness gained her friends nowhere. We should have lost the few we had. There was no Sobieski to save the capital ; I should have retired within the lines which I constructed, as has been seen in 1705 ; but meanwhile *Te Deum* would have been sung at Versailles, and in the chapel of some of my enemies at Vienna. People there at length became sensible of the justice of my

reasons against the war, for they then perceived the inferiority of our means, with which the barkers and firebrands of society cannot be acquainted.

Philipsburg being taken, I retired to my old camp at Bruchsal. D'Asfeld would have laid siege to Mentz, but this intention I obliged him to relinquish, for I hastened to cover that place. My marches, to prevent the French from penetrating into Suabia by the Black Forest, have, in my opinion, been sufficiently extolled. I covered Würtemberg, and they found me every where except in the field of battle: for really I could not fight. More fatigued than we, but able to recruit themselves whenever they pleased, they entered into winter quarters; and I, innocent in my own eyes, deserving neither the praise nor the censure with which I have been honoured, satisfied with a kind of petty passive glory, set out for Vienna.

I had left my nephew, the only remaining shoot of my branch of Savoy, sick at Manheim: he died of a fever, as I have been told, but I suspect of something else. 'Tis a pity: he possessed understanding and courage. Though only twenty years of age, he was a major-general, but too much of a libertine. I allow a man to be a little disposed that way. I love a rake, and detest Catos; they scarcely ever stand fire well: but my little Eugene was fond of bad company and bad friends; and these are enough to ruin any body.

"What have you gained, sire," said I to the emperor at the first audience, "in this war, which I again advise your majesty to terminate as speedily as possible? After the loss of two battles in Italy, your troops will be driven from the country, as they have been out of Naples and Sicily. Consider that it is a French army, a very different sort of thing from mine, which is a piece of patchwork. We are still waiting for the contingents of five or six petty allies, who, possessing not a sou, sell their insignificant aid to your majesty, and their hearts to France. The great succours which Russia is sending you amount to no more than fourteen thousand men, whom she will soon recall: for after

leading us into this war, she will (which heaven avert!) perhaps hurry you into another with the Turks, which I believe they are even going to begin." Charles the Sixth, with his usual taciturnity, only told me to say the same thing to the council of conference.

I gained over all the military men to my opinion. I said to them;—"While the maritime states, who are desirous of peace for the preservation of the balance of power in Europe, strive to accomplish their purpose, I shall collect all the force I can, since that is the way to put an end to the business."

At the end of April I set off for Heilbron, and took up my excellent camp at Bruchsal, as I had done the year before; but the enemy being much stronger, I had nothing to do but to cover all the places and the country on this side of the Rhine.

In order to render the possession of Philipsburg useless to him, I turned the course of three small rivers, which, instead of discharging themselves into the Rhine, produced me a superb inundation from that fortress to Ettlingen, the lines of which, thus covered, were unassailable.

Had I been able to leave them, having no longer to do with D'Asfeld, who had been succeeded by Coigny, I should have finished my military career better than by the same passive kind of glory as the preceding year. I gave it some degree of activity by taking Trarbach, and delivering the electorate of Treves. Seeing that there was nothing more to be done, nothing to be gained, and much to be lost, as I had told Charles the Sixth fifty times, I was very glad at first to be recalled to Vienna, though I shrewdly suspected that this was my last campaign. It would be difficult for me to express what I felt on taking leave of my army. It was a painful scene, I assure you. An old soldier only can know what it is to bid a last farewell to such bravé fellows, whom he has so often led to death, which I was desirous of meeting in so happy, speedy, and glorious a manner: 'tis the only favour God has refused me. With tears in my eyes I resigned the com-

mand to the duke of Würtemberg; and on my arrival at Vienna, I luckily found La Baume, the agent sent by cardinal Fleury, to make very reasonable proposals. France had been rather humbled in Poland: her garrison of fifteen thousand men had surrendered at Dantzic, and the father-in-law of Louis the Fifteenth had withdrawn himself nobody knew whither. The Russians and Augustus the Third triumphed, as might be expected; and I, taking advantage of the desire of Charles the Sixth, to restore the extinguished house of Austria, by marrying his daughter, Maria Theresa, to prince Francis of Lorraine, we soon came to an understanding, and the preliminaries were signed. (26.)

The day after this signature, I went to the emperor to congratulate him on having got out of such a scrape as this war, and entreated him to beware lest Russia should involve him in another with the Turks. I said to him: "In proportion as one grows old, sire, one ventures to speak the truth with greater boldness. Before we begin, we ought to ask ourselves what we mean to do, what we are able to do? You neither want, nor are you able, to take Widdin and Nissa, but you may lose Belgrade. The Bosniacs and the Servians, and the best of the Asiatics, will be against you. Against the Russians there will be only Tartars, Arnauts, Christians, Greeks of the right bank of the Dniester, who, being separated from them by deserts, will do them no great injury. They may do you harm if they prove victorious. Part of your subjects are of their religion. Animosities will arise between your two courts, and ill-humour and distrust will prevail among the commanders of your two imperial armies.

"You have nobody to run about, as I did when young, to all the courts to prevent the coalition from falling to pieces. The Germanic body is won by the gold or the seductive influence of France. Make an enumeration of the inhabitants of your hereditary dominions, that every district may be obliged to keep its regiment continually complete. For the interest of the

Hungarians, and your own, prevent them from revolting, by making them pay regular taxes, and furnish a certain number of recruits every year. You have no money, but by far too many civil servants: have soldiers instead of counsellors.

“Purchase the king of Sardinia, sire, that he may preserve Lombardy for you, and the maritime powers, that they may preserve the Low Countries; that is to say, give them, if necessary, one half of the revenues, that you may receive the other without expense, and prevent France from gaining such large acquisitions. Since your majesty has lost Philipsburg, make Lintz a fortress; and secure, by force or other means, the elector of Bavaria, if France would attack you; and the elector of Saxony, in like manner, if the king of Prussia, who is perceptibly aggrandizing himself, gained by cardinal de Fleury, should threaten Bohemia. Care not for the Turks, and I promise your majesty a glorious reign, from the tranquillity which you will ensure to your dominions.” Such was my wish for this emperor.

It belongs to history to judge whether I have finished well or ill. I know that since the year 1717, consequently for these eighteen years, I have fought no battles, but this was for want of men, money, allies, and influence at court (with pain I acknowledge it;) and at length I caused peace to be restored to Europe, after two tolerable campaigns, in which, if I have not acquired honour, I have at least nothing to reproach myself with.

It is said, that during these two last campaigns, Guido Stahrenberg, who was naturally of his cousin Gundacker's party, clamoured a good deal against me. This reminds me of what Villars said to me at Rastadt: “Our enemies are not in the field. Yours are at Vienna, and mine at Versailles.” What is not a little diverting, is, that this animosity is asserted to have originated in a foolish trick which is not at all like me, and which would have betrayed either insolence or bad taste. I had besides long given up the habit of laughing, and had even relinquished my little French

peculiarities, in order to succeed the better at the gravest court in the world. Here is this paltry anecdote as I have heard it related. In my first campaign in Italy, on the emperor's birth-day, when I gave a grand dinner to all my generals, I am said to have directed crackers to be laid under Stahrenberg's chair, and at the moment when he was raising his glass to his lips to drink the emperor's health, the trumpets and other instruments which accompanied it gave the signal for the explosion. The company thought it was a mine; and all ran away excepting the person under whom was this little volcano. He finished his glass, and calmly set it down again on the table. Guido, enraged, it is said, at this trial of his courage, never forgave me for it. What occasion could I have to doubt it? We have known each other ever since the siege of Vienna, when he was in the city as captain and adjutant to his cousin Rudiger. He is six years older than myself, and has always displayed the greatest talents, and the most exemplary valour, to which I willingly do justice. I scarcely ever see him, and as I imagine he possesses at present no more influence than I have, perhaps we are friends. Old generals who have been enemies to one another, are like women whose animosities subside at a certain age, because they cease to be of any sex.

Of all the ministers, Zinzendorf was the man to whose conversation I was most partial. "I will wager," said I to him, "that your excellency will be of my opinion. We want no political sentences: the aspect of Europe changes like that of a plain or a mountain, by the accidents of light. People say, such a kingdom is the natural enemy of another. No such thing; if they are contiguous, the one should strive to secure the friendship, if not the alliance, of the other, for its defence against some more distant power. Why, after the peace of Rastadt, did we not unite cordially with France? The party hostile to her in England had been crushed; and we should have saved many millions of money and thousands of lives. When one

cannot give law, one ought to think only how to avoid receiving it. But what is it that is called court-policy, reasons of state? What but the personal interest either of the ambition or revenge of the person in favour? This last motive, count, has, I think, upon examining myself for instance, had some influence upon me as well as the first; and a desire of power and wealth gave a bias to Marlborough."

"Which governments do you think the best?" said Zinzendorf to me. "You will take me for a tyrant," I replied, "when I tell you a military government. Monsters are rare: why should the seven or eight thrones of Europe be just at this moment filled by such? The monster king would be unjust and cruel only to his friends and those about him; but he would not be so to the country-gentleman, to the citizen, to the peasant, whom he would govern by military laws, which are the clearest and most prompt of any. Your excellency is an exception. But consider what I am going to have the honour to observe to you. The soldier is so weary of being cruel during war, that he ceases to be so in time of peace. I wish that every prime minister who decides between them had been in the service, that he might know what it is. He would consent to arbitrations, as in a law-suit, mediations, moderations, before he would still determine to spill so much blood." "I confess," said Zinzendorf, "that the cardinals who have been ministers have caused the shedding of a great deal, our good friend Fleury excepted, who has no inclination that way. I think it is ignorance, levity, which is always cruel like infancy, that turn the scale in our councils in favour of war, more frequently than you brave men, who dread it for the sake of others, wish it for your own, and at the same time prevent or defer it as much as lies in your power."

The other day the emperor took me out a hunting with him, a thing without example in the Spanish-Austrian etiquette, which I find no fault with, because it is necessary for the sovereign to keep up his dignity



in regard to the great, that the latter may keep up theirs in respect to the lower classes, and thus form as it were a scale of consideration. Here is nearly what I said to him in the carriage. "If your majesty were desirous of going to war again, I see no great generals to command your armies. You must wait till they arise. Conigseg is a courtier, and Neiperg a wit rather than a general. Khevenhuller is the best of the three. The first is loved and esteemed; the second is more amiable, because he is more piquant: he is feared on account of his highly diverting sarcasms and sallies; but he stands fire with admirable coolness. The third is more capable of directing the marches, the encampments, the organization and the movement of troops. Hildburghausen has courage, but little judgment. As he has married my niece, people imagine that I have undertaken the office of his instructor. They do both of us too much honour. He is called the white Eugene, because he is as fair as I am dark. I wish the duke of Lorraine, your majesty's son-in-law, and his brother, prince Charles, (the one twenty-six and the other twenty-two years of age,) bestowed more application on the subject. They possess genius, valour too, I believe, and will make themselves adored. The second will have most talents. The princes of the blood, even with less merit than others, have superior advantages. Appointed at an early age to the command of armies, they have more experience, and dare to be much more enterprising. Try these last, sire; perhaps you may find them answer. Besides, the others know no more of the matter than they." I had never talked to him so long about business. He was not fond of it any more than his father. It was always a very short audience or councils of conference. I like them much, because no one dares give an opinion for which he has to blush, if he would not lose the esteem of his neighbour, who is there obliged to give an account of his department. A sovereign, difficult of access, is not on that account beyond the reach of mean, disgraceful advice, informations, calumnies, and prejudices.

Now I have nearly withdrawn from public life. I play at piquet every evening at Madame de Bathiany's, with Taroca, Windischgratz, and Tessin, the Swedish ambassador. It is rather for the sake of conversation. People are more talkative when they do not say, let us talk, and round a card-table they are more at their ease; otherwise games of commerce are extinguishers of society. In war, I prefer games of chance. At my head-quarters, those who won were put into high spirits and those who lost fought better; 'tis soon over, and time is more valuable than money. I am fond of the company of young people; they are more pure, not having been corrupted by intrigue. I often see the commander Zinzendorf, a man of enlarged understanding, and good company, and Frederic Harrach, who adds to these qualities considerable talents for business. I foresee that he will be raised to important posts, as will in war Dhaun and Brown. The first possesses most merit; the second will have boldness; and the last, superior talents for discipline and the essential details, without being trifling. Joseph Wenzl Lichtenstein is likewise a brave general, a good citizen, and a genuine nobleman. Seckendorf and Schmettau, with military qualities, depend rather too much on circumstances.

Young Cobentzl, a man of great intelligence, often visits at Madame de Bathiany's. He one day said to her: "It is generally believed, madam, that you have married prince Eugene." "I love him much too well for that," replied she; "I would rather have a bad reputation, than take away his, and thus abuse his age at seventy-two."

Kaunitz, at the same age as Cobentzl, without possessing so much character, such readiness in conversation, will have enlarged views. He has just, noble, and profound ideas. I am almost as much attached to Madame Strattmann as to her sister, my mistress, as she is called.

"If you were not religious, and I was five-and-twenty, what would be the consequence?" said I one

day to Madame de Bathiany. "Nothing," replied she, "things would be just as they are. I am religious, in the first place, because I love God, and because I believe and put my trust in him; in the next place, this is a safeguard of my peace, which would come to the aid of my wounded self-love, if I were to be forsaken; and then, that I may be able to scoff at women who have lovers. I am religious, because I have neither fear, nor hope, nor desire, in this life; and because the good which I do for the poor, from humanity, is of benefit to my soul. I am religious, because the wicked fear me, and are disgusting to me. I am religious, that I may not have occasion to be continually watchful of my reputation; women who are not, dare not say or do any thing; they are like thieves who think themselves pursued by the police wherever they go. But I detest those who assume the mask of piety, or are religious only on account of the immortality of the soul. Were mine to perish with me, I would nevertheless endeavour to be virtuous, as I do at present. It is not so much for fear of God, as out of gratitude for his favours, and love to him, that I am religious, without publicly proclaiming it like those ladies who make a trade of the thing to please the court, rather than to please heaven."

I have been happy in this life, and I wish to be so in the other. There are old dragoons who will pray to heaven for me, and I have more faith in their prayers, than in those of all the old women of the court and of the city clergy. The fine music, whether simple or more obstreperous, of the divine service, delights me. The one has something religious, which awes the soul; the other reminds me, by the flourishes of trumpets and kettle-drums, which so often led my soldiers to victory, of the God of hosts who has blessed our arms. I have scarcely had time to sin; but I have set a bad example, perhaps, without knowing it, by my negligence of the forms of religion, in which I have, however, invariably believed. I have sometimes spoken evil of people, but only when I thought myself obliged to do so; and

have said: "Such a one is a coward, and such a one a scoundrel." I have sometimes given way to passion; but who could help swearing to see a general or a regiment that did not do their duty, or an adjutant who did not understand one? I have been too careless as a soldier, and lived like a philosopher. I wish to die as a Christian. I never like swaggerers, either in war or in religion, and it is perhaps from having seen ridiculous impieties like those of the Frenchmen, of whom I have spoken on the one hand, and Spanish bigotries on the other, that I have always kept myself aloof from both. I have so often beheld death near at hand, that I had become familiar with him. But now it is no longer the same thing. Then I sought him, now I wait for him; and meanwhile I live in peace. I look upon the past as a pleasing dream. I go to court only on gala days, and to the theatre when there is an Italian opera, serious or comic, or a fine ballet. If we had a French company, I would go to see *Athalie*, *Esther*, and *Polyeucte*. I am delighted with the eloquence of the pulpit. When Bourdaloue inspires me with terror, Massillon fills me with hope. We were born in the same year, and I knew him on his entrance into the world—a perfectly amiable man. Bossuet astonishes—Fenelon affects me. I saw them also in my youth; and Marlborough and I paid the latter all possible honours when we took Cambray. I have forgotten the epigrams of Rousseau, and even his ode on me: but I read his psalms and hymns over and over again. I still retain my memory, as may be seen; and I think I have forgotten nothing except my enemies in this country, whom I forgive with all my heart. A foreigner, and successful!—This was too much for them. My health is very good, considering my age of seventy-two years, the fatigues of I know not how many campaigns, and the effects of I can't tell how many wounds. The chevalier Carelli, my physician and friend, furnishes me with a sure remedy for curing as he says the radical humidity, which he thinks somewhat wasted. I have yet many things to do for the

embellishment of my gardens and palace ; for instance, I mean to buy all the ground in front of that in which I live, and at which I have employed fifteen hundred workmen, (because it was a time of dearth, and this was beneficial to the city of Vienna,) to form a fine square, with a splendid fountain in the middle. If I should live a little longer, (27) I shall not fail to write down whatever I recollect, and what comes into my head, which is still pretty strong, though, to annoy me, people have asserted that my faculties were considerably decayed. It was once strong enough to prevent me from dying of vexation, as my friend prince Louis of Baden did, about thirty years ago. I shrugged my shoulders at it, and kept on my usual course. For instance, if I were to interfere in public affairs, I would say to the emperor : "Take all possible precautions respecting your succession ; it will be involved in dreadful confusion. Two or three powers will lay claim to it. Prevent all this in your lifetime. Here is an occasion for posting about as I did in my time to Munich, Berlin, London, the Hague," &c. The army and artillery are neglected. We shall not be capable of resistance, unless we contrive to prevent all that is likely to happen ; and unless, above all things, on the death of Charles the Sixth, we refuse to go to war with the Turks. I wish prosperity to the House of Austria, which will soon be that of Austria-Lorraine, and hope that it will extricate itself from this embarrassment. I have written enough to-day, and will now mount my horse to go and look at a lion which has just arrived at my menagerie, on the road to Schweikelt.

## SEQUEL.

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THE remainder of the life of this able soldier and statesman will occupy a very small space, as no alteration took place in his manner of living until his death, which took place on the 20th or 21st of April 1736. On the evening of the 20th he visited the countess Bathiany as usual; and having played a game at piquet, he found himself so weak, that he was obliged to leave his friends very early. He returned to his palace, and went to bed, having, as he said, more appetite for sleep than for supper; and when his valet reminded him of the draught prescribed for him by his physician Carelli, he replied, "There is no hurry, it is the same thing whether I take it to-night or to-morrow; I had rather wait until morning." At ten o'clock the next day his attendants found him dead in his bed.

Thus terminated the life of this celebrated captain, in his seventy-third year. His funeral obsequies were performed with the greatest magnificence in the church of St Stephen at Vienna, where his remains were deposited.

The military character of prince Eugene is so spiritedly sketched by his own pen, it is superfluous to say that as a commander he was active, enterprising, and full of resources; and that although, agreeably to his own acknowledgment, he occasionally committed faults, he usually redeemed them with extreme facility. He was particularly beloved by his troops, on account of the fertility of expedient by which he contrived that they should want for nothing in situations where, under many other generals, they might have suffered severely. On the other hand, he is said not to have been very

delicate in the means which he employed ; as well as too much addicted to stratagems which honourable warfare will scarcely justify. He is also accused of too much vindictive feeling against France, and of retaining too embittered a remembrance of the neglect which he experienced from the French court in his youth ; a feeling of resentment which sometimes led him to exult somewhat too personally in the mortifications with which he repaid it. He was however, upon the whole, a liberal and generous character ; and although he certainly enriched himself in his profession, he displayed none of the avarice of Villars or Marlborough, but made a most worthy use in peace of the funds which he acquired in war. At the same time, he was peculiarly capable of friendship, free from pride, and faithful to his promises ; and, as particularly noticed by the " Edinburgh Review," (already referred to) no one spoke of his own failings, either military or otherwise, or of the great qualities of his opponents, with more candour and magnanimity than prince Eugene. In private life he was also extremely correct and decorous, never having split upon the rocks either of gallantry or wine. He would never marry, as it was a maxim with him, that a wife is a troublesome appendage to a soldier ; and a similar engrossment, as he himself observes, preserved him from the transient amours and intrigues so prevalent among courtiers and military men. He nevertheless treated the sex with great politeness and attention, and his Platonic attachment (for it was evidently no other) to the countess Bathiany, in the winter of life, only shows that, like all men of discernment, he felt the charms of an habitual social intercourse with an elegant and enlightened woman. His religious sentiments may be tolerably well gathered from the soldierly manner in which he expresses himself on the subject towards the conclusion of his memoirs. He speaks of religion with veneration, but manifests a just contempt for bigotry and persecution. As for the rest, the religion of great commanders is seldom of a very definite nature, and that of Eugene seems to have formed no exception.

It has been observed, that he spent the fortune acquired in his great military commands very creditably. He was, for example, fond of the fine arts; and several eminent professors of them partook of his bounty. At a time too when the plague had made great ravages in Vienna, and the necessities of life were very dear, he employed fifteen hundred hands in the embellishment of his palace, although a third of the number would have sufficed; and to those retained he paid double wages. The beauty of his palace and furniture, his valuable paintings, his cabinet of curiosities, his library, his grounds, his fountains, his statues, and his menagerie, tended at least to exhibit a magnificent taste; while the number and frequency of his splendid entertainments afford equal testimony of his courtesy and hospitality. All this is graceful and suitable in high rank and splendid fortune, if not absolutely meritorious; and set off by great qualities, as in Eugene, it adds to the brilliancy of the portrait, without detracting from its more solid recommendations.

The person of this great man was of the middle size, but he was very well made; his face was rather long, his cheeks slightly hollow, and his complexion dark and becoming a soldier. His eyes were black, lively, and full of fire; his mouth, which was usually half open, neither large nor small; and his nose somewhat long but well shaped. He had black hair, which he wore naturally, until it turned grey, when he supplied its place with a wig. He had usually a grave and serious look, but could promote hilarity on proper occasions. When he showed himself to his troops, his spirit seemed to rise with the consciousness of appearing in his own element, and an air of greatness and majesty appeared in his person and deportment, which created respect from the highest general to the meanest soldier. To conclude, as few men possessed a spirit more essentially military, so few soldiers of fortune appear in history to more advantage than the once universal British favourite, prince Eugene.





## NOTES.

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(1) Page 27. *Here, sire, is a young Savoyard.*—The address of the prince of Baden, which is suppressed by the author with that modesty which is ever found to accompany true merit, was as follows : “ Here, sire, is a young Savoyard, whom I have the honour to present to your imperial majesty, and who bids fair to equal in time the greatest generals that have ever lived.”

(2) Page 28. *The duke of Mantua.*—Ferdinand Charles, son of Charles the Third, duke of Mantua, and Isabella Clara, daughter of Leopold, archduke of Austria. He was the last of his family, and after his death, in 1706, the emperor took possession of his dominions.

(3) Page 29. *Where king Louis had perished.*—In 1526, Louis, the last king of Hungary, fell at Mohatz with twenty-two thousand of his men, in an engagement with the Turks, commanded by their sultan, Solyman the Second.

(4) Page 29. *This excited the general laughter of the soldiers.*—The duke of Mantua, says the “ *Histoire du Prince Eugene*,” asked general Caprara from what place the battle might be most conveniently viewed. Caprara mentioned mount Hersan, to which the duke repaired with all possible expedition, and never quitted his post till the engagement was over. This occasioned much mirth, and the soldiers gave this hill the name of Mirror of Mantuan Valour, which it long retained.

(5) Page 29. *The news of this victory to the emperor.*—In the Turkish camp, which was abandoned with the artillery and all the baggage to the conquerors, they made a prodigious booty in jewels and money. Sixteen hundred elephants and camels, and an immense number of

other beasts of burden, fell into their hands. Prince Eugene's dragoons, being the first that penetrated into the enemy's camp, had the picking of the spoil: they could scarcely carry their knapsacks, which they filled with ducats. The loss of the Mussulmans, according to the statement of the grand vizir himself, amounted to thirty thousand killed and wounded; that of the imperialists to less than one thousand.

(6) Page 29. *History, I hope, will record the glorious conduct of Commerci, at the battle of Hersan.*—This young prince of the house of Lorraine was inexpressibly brave. On this occasion he headed the volunteers. Observing that a cornet of his regiment had lost his colours in the skirmish previous to the general engagement, he requested permission of the duke of Lorraine to take another from the enemy. The duke yielded to his entreaties. Commerci perceiving a Turkish ensign carrying a small standard at the end of a javelin, ran up to him, and when very near, fired his pistol at him. Having missed his aim, he threw away his pistol and drew his sword. The Turk seized this opportunity to plunge the javelin into his side, and as he was endeavouring to draw it out again, the prince seized the weapon with his left hand, and with his right cleft the Turkish officer's head. He then pulled out the javelin, carried the standard, stained with his blood, to the duke of Lorraine, and sent for his cornet, whom he thus coolly addressed:—"There, sir, is a standard which I intrust you with. It has cost me rather dear, and you will do me the favour to take better care of it than of that which you suffered to be taken from you." This singular reprimand was almost as much admired as the action itself. Commerci recovered of his wound; and the emperor being made acquainted with the circumstances of this achievement, wished to see the Turkish standard. It was of red taffeta, with a crescent embroidered in gold in the middle. The monarch ordered it to be preserved in a church, and the empress with her own hands made another pair of colours, and sent it to the prince, in the place of that which his company had lost.

(7) Page 30. *Twelve thousand men killed on both sides.*—A few days after the taking of the town a singular discovery was made. Some soldiers searching in a mosque, found the head of the grand vizir, Kara Mustapha, who commanded the Turkish army at the siege of Vienna, in 1683. It was enclosed in an iron cage, with a white shirt on one side of it, and the Koran on the other. The elector

of Bavaria thought it a suitable present for cardinal Colonitz, bishop of Raab, because the grand vizir had frequently promised, when writing to the sultan, that he would soon send him the head of that prelate. The cardinal accepted this extraordinary present, and allowed it to be deposited in the arsenal of Vienna, together with the shirt, the Koran, and the very cord with which the vizir had been strangled.

(8) Page 30. *The duke of Savoy.*—Victor Amadæus was born in 1666; succeeded his father as duke of Savoy in 1675. The wavering policy of this prince, of which the reader will find instances enough in this work, was perhaps less the effect of a naturally fickle disposition, than of the situation of his dominions, contiguous to those of two great rival potentates.

(9) Page 37. *Sent me a proposal to pass into his service.*—The offers made by the king on this occasion were very advantageous, comprehending the rank of marshal of France, the government of Champagne, which the prince's father had enjoyed, and a yearly pension of two thousand pistoles. Eugene however rejected them with disdain, replying that he was a field-marshal in the emperor's army, a dignity which he considered as at least equal to that of marshal of France, and that as to pensions, they had no temptation for him, as he thought himself quite rich enough, as long as he could find opportunities to evince his fidelity and zeal in the service of the monarch, to whom he had attached himself.

(10) Page 39. *On the opposite side of the river.*—The booty taken by the conquerors was immense. All the tents of the Turkish army, which were left standing, nine thousand waggons laden with baggage, provisions, and the fetters intended to secure all the officers of the imperial army; six thousand camels; seven thousand horses; one hundred pieces of large cannon, and sixty of field artillery; seven horse-tails, and four hundred and twenty-three other standards fell into the hands of the imperialists. The loss of the latter almost borders on the marvellous, considering that they had to attack a numerous army, well entrenched, and very strong in artillery. According to the "*Histoire du Prince Eugene*" they had four hundred and thirty men killed, and about one thousand six hundred wounded. The prince himself states his loss at one thousand, in which number he probably reckons only those who either fell in the engagement, or afterwards died of their wounds.

(11) Page 42. *We all three parted very good friends.*—Villars, in his memoirs, says, that every body shunned him except prince Eugene of Savoy, the prince of Baden, and some other persons of distinction, too far above suspicion to concern themselves about the opinion of the courtiers. In another place he observes, that at his departure from Vienna, prince Eugene was pleased to give him public marks of esteem and friendship. Some of the courtiers, he continues, were astonished to observe such cordiality between persons who were soon likely to be opposed to one another in the field. "Gentlemen," said Villars, "I rely upon the kindness of prince Eugene, and am confident that he wishes me well, while on my part I wish him all the prosperity he deserves, except that which would be contrary to the interests of the king, my master. But shall I tell you where the real enemies of prince Eugene are to be found? His are at Vienna, and mine at Versailles."

(12) Page 43. *On the throne of Constantinople.*—A letter written to Louis the Fourteenth in 1688, by Villars, at that time envoy to the court of Bavaria, contains the following statement relative to this subject, and throws additional light on the character and credulity of the emperor Leopold. "The elector said to me: you ought to know the emperor as well as I do, to be able to give credit to the reasons which have prevented him from making peace with the Turks, but as you have been at Vienna, you will be the less surprised at them. There are monks who have foretold that the empress should become pregnant, that she should be delivered of twins, and that at the same time the Turkish empire should be destroyed, and one of these twins should reign at Constantinople. The pregnancy of the empress appeared about the time that we took Belgrade; the emperor believed the rest of the prophecy, and would not at that time hear a word about peace. This, sire, was told me by the elector, and I have no doubt of the truth of his information."

(13) Page 57. *Had been reduced to the brink of ruin.*—Louis the Fourteenth, exasperated at having been so often duped by a prince so inferior to himself in every respect, wrote him the following extraordinary letter:—

SIR,

Since religion, honour, interest, alliance, and your own signature, are nothing between us, I send my cousin, the duke de Vendôme, at the head of my armies, to ex-

plain my intentions to you. He will give you but twenty-four hours to make up your mind. Louis.

To this epistle the duke deigned not to reply in writing. He merely told the officer who brought it, that his resolution was taken, that threats had no effect upon him, that he had no other answer to give, and would listen to no other propositions. The consequence was, that in a short time the French reduced the whole of his dominions excepting Turin.

(14) Page 80. *While we are speaking, he is playing very deep.*—Charles the Twelfth was just at this time preparing to march into Russia, on the rash expedition which terminated very shortly in the unfortunate battle of Pultowa, where he lost in one day the fruits of all his former conquests.

(15) Page 86. *Put an end to this tedious rebellion.*—This rebellion commenced in 1703. The leader of the insurgents, prince Francis Ragotzi. This prince laid claim to the sovereignty of Transylvania, of which his ancestors had been Waywodes, till his father, putting himself under the protection of the emperor Ferdinand the Third, so exasperated the Ottoman Porte, that the latter deposed, and drove him with great ease out of his dominions, the court of Vienna having neglected to give him timely assistance. The Turks then declared Michael Abaffi Waywode of Transylvania. On his death, the emperor having weakened the Turks in Hungary, conceived the design of securing possession of that province. With this view, he filled it with his troops; and when the young Abaffi, son of the former, returned from the Rhine, where he had been making a campaign, he ordered him to be thrown into confinement, and partly by caresses, partly by threats, he cajoled him into a formal renunciation of his claims upon Transylvania. This, however, did not make the inhabitants of that country more submissive to the imperial yoke; they elected prince Francis Ragotzi for their sovereign, and supported by Louis the Fourteenth, he immediately prepared to assert his rights by arms. By the mediation of Mordaunt, earl of Peterborough, our ambassador at Vienna, an accommodation was concluded between the emperor and Ragotzi.

(16) Page 87. *It has long been the fashion to assert that great personages die of poison.*—It is not improbable, that in this reflection the illustrious author may have had in view the story propagated respecting his mother, and the queen of Spain, as well as the sudden events which,

in 1712, threw the court of France into consternation and mourning.

(17) Page 91. *Assure their high mightinesses of the truth of what I write you, of my dissatisfaction and profound mortification.*—This disastrous business cost the allied army ten thousand men, in killed, drowned, and prisoners. The French, who had only seven or eight hundred killed, took above one hundred pieces of cannon, three hundred thousand pounds of powder, and a prodigious quantity of military and other stores.

(18) Page 112. *He caused Aniessens, the father of the city, to be beheaded.*—The commencement of the disturbances in the Low Countries was this. The emperor had thought fit to appoint a new council at Brussels, for the administration of the affairs of Brabant, and this council directed a fresh oath to be administered to the different companies of the city, in the person of the nine deans or masters. The burgomaster accordingly summoned them to the town-house, and read a letter which he said was written by the emperor, directing the form of the oath to be taken by them. The masters requested to see the letter, but as the magistrate absolutely refused to show it, they, with one single exception, withdrew, declaring their resolution to suffer death, rather than do any thing contrary to their rights and privileges. The people, espousing the cause of the masters, flocked to the town-house to wreak their vengeance on the individual who had taken the prescribed oath; but being disappointed of their object, they attacked and demolished the house of the burgomaster. A detachment of the garrison was sent to quell the rioters, but their numbers had increased to such a degree, that the troops returned without attempting any thing.

A second disturbance broke out on occasion of a subsidy demanded by the emperor, and which could not be levied without the consent of the guilds. The masters, however, declared that they would hear of no imposts to be laid upon the people, till the council had annulled all sentences and decrees against their companies, to the prejudice of their ancient rights and privileges. This requisition, deemed insolent, and tending to undermine the imperial authority, was rejected with contempt, and gave rise to fresh riots, in which the houses of some obnoxious magistrates were demolished or burned. Though the rioters were charged by the troops, and several of them killed, the tumults continued; and as the country people threatened to join the townsmen, the royal autho-

rity was obliged to yield and to comply with the demands of the guilds.

On this, a considerable force was sent to the Low Countries; the garrison of Brussels was increased to ten thousand men, and the citizens were forbidden to take arms under pain of death. An investigation into the late disturbances was instituted, and proofs sufficient to convict several of the masters of companies of disobedience to the emperor were soon procured. They were brought to trial, and found guilty. Sentence was passed, and executed the same day, on fourteen of the ringleaders. Among these was Anissens, a venerable old man of seventy. None ever showed greater fortitude than he did on this occasion. He heard his sentence read without the least emotion, merely replied to all the charges that he was innocent, and that he had never sought to disturb the tranquillity of the city. When ordered to sign his sentence, according to the custom of the country, he bluntly refused, and replied with great composure, that he never imagined the emperor had not forces sufficient to put an end to a life so far advanced as his. When upon the scaffold, he attempted to harangue the populace, but the noise made by the soldiers who surrounded him prevented his being heard. Not only did the people, as the prince observes, dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, but he was universally styled the martyr of his country, and received a magnificent funeral at the public expense. Nor did they as Eugene too soldierly observes, think no more of the matter, for they gave Joseph the Second similar trouble, who could succeed in his innovations no better than his ancestor.

(19) Page 117. *Who did not pay proper attention to him.*—This circumstance Villars in his memoirs mentions in these words:—"He flew into such a passion one day at a public dinner, as to strike one of his attendants, who did not serve him so expeditiously as he wished. His father, the emperor, looked at him with emotion, and said:—'You might at least forbear to expose yourself before strangers.'"

(20) Page 121. *Gay as his little court of Lorraine*—This prince having ceded the duchy of Lorraine to France, afterwards married the emperor's only child, Maria Theresa, and ascended the imperial throne by the title of Francis the First. He was born in 1708, and died in 1765.

(21) Page 122. *The king of Prussia.*—Frederic William the First, whose father assumed the royal title. He



was born in 1688, commenced his reign in 1713, and died in 1740. He married Sophia, daughter of the elector of Hanover, afterwards George the First of England, by whom he was father to his successor, Frederic the Great. Frederic William was particularly remarkable for his partiality to soldiers of extraordinary stature, and his attention to all the minutiae of the dress and evolutions of his troops. These subjects, together with the accumulation of money, were his favourite studies. Most of his generals, whatever their merit might be in their own line, scarcely knew how to sign their names. So great indeed was the ignorance of the king himself, that he banished from his dominions the celebrated philosopher, Wolf, merely because he maintained the doctrine of pre-established harmony. Frederic William also exposed his character to the imputation of cruelty from the manner in which he conducted himself towards his own son.

(22) Page 125. *Breaker of horse-shoes.*—Augustus the Second, elector of Saxony and king of Poland, was remarkable for his strength, which was so great that he could break a horse-shoe in his hand with the greatest ease.

(23) Page 125. *The son of Augustus the Third had been elected Piast.*—Piastus, a native of Poland, was raised in the ninth century from the humble station of a wheel-wright to the ducal throne of that country. In this new dignity he displayed so many excellent qualities, that in memory of him all the natives of Poland who have since been elected to the ducal or regal crown have been called Piastes, in contradistinction to foreigners.

(24) Page 126. *I was envious on this occasion, and it was for the first time in my life.*—It is related of marshal Villars, that on hearing of Berwick's death he exclaimed with the same kind of feeling: "That man was always fortunate."

(25) Page 126. *Who appeared a young man of infinite promise.*—This was the prince whose military exploits afterwards astonished the world and procured him the epithet of Great. The circumstance from which prince Eugene drew his presentiment, was as follows:—Frederic having accompanied the commander-in-chief, when he went to reconnoitre, was on his return through a very open wood, exposed to the cannon of the enemy's lines, which thundered incessantly. The balls broke a number of branches one very side of him; notwithstanding which, he never caused his horse to move quicker, nor did the hand which held the bridle alter its motion even for

a moment. He continued to converse with the generals who attended him, and never showed the smallest sign of apprehension.

(26) Page 130. *The preliminaries were signed.*—By this treaty the elector of Saxony was put into quiet possession of the crown of Poland, and the duchy of Lorraine and Bar ceded to the dethroned king Stanislaus, after whose death it was to be united to France.

(27) Page 138. *If I should live a little longer.*—It was but a very short time before the attacks of the disorder alluded to by the prince, caused serious apprehensions for his life. By the skill and attention of the chevalier Carelli, first physician to the emperor, he however recovered sufficient strength to receive company, and also to continue his evening visits to the countess de Bathiany.











